

THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD



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THE NEW JAPANESE
WOMANHOOD

ALLEN K. FAUST, PH.D.

BY THE AUTHOR

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(IN JAPANESE)

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Sunday School Teachers*



MOTHER AND DAUGHTERS

THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD

BY

ALLEN K. FAUST, PH.D.

President of Miyagi College, Sendai, Japan

With Preface by

WILLIAM E. LAMPE, PH.D.

*Little
Museum
Japan. Museum*

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THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD

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TO MY WIFE
WHO HEARTILY REJOICES IN EVERY
UPWARD STEP TAKEN BY
JAPANESE WOMANHOOD

PREFACE

We who live in America or in European countries know too little regarding the women of Japan. Our own lives would be enriched by a fuller knowledge of these people. Japan was a closed country until 1854. Almost twenty years more passed before any considerable number of people of the West visited Japan. The first Japanese women came to America early in the 70's. Of the very small number of Japanese now living in America only a few thousands are women. Visitors to Japan who have spent a few days or a few weeks there have seen Japanese women in the port cities, but have seen nothing of the real life of the Japanese women. Too often they have seen the kind of Japanese women who are not typical of Japan nor creditable representatives of the Japanese.

Dr. Faust, the writer of this book, "The New Japanese Womanhood," has spent twenty-five years in residence in the northern part of

Japan. For more than half of this period he has been President of Miyagi College, one of the largest and possibly the very best educational institution for women north of Tokyo. What we need regarding Japanese womanhood is facts, not theory. Dr. Faust knows Japanese womanhood in all its phases and relationships. He writes of women from first-hand knowledge as also from the standpoint of a man in thorough sympathy with woman and her problems. His own educational training and his quarter of a century experience qualify him as almost no other person to write this book.

Many factors have been at work to make the new Japan and to assist in the evolution of Japanese womanhood. This book will help many people to evaluate the influence of many factors that have had part in shaping the new Japan and the new Japanese womanhood. While it is a sound sociological study, it is written for the layman and the laywoman, and should be intensely interesting to both.

This study of Japanese womanhood will be of immense value to people of the West in that it suggests and in some degree indicates what will happen in all of Asia and even in Africa.

The women of China have something of the same history and background as have the people of Japan. It may be only a few decades, but soon the women of China will be passing through the same stages as the women of Japan have passed or are now passing. The women of India will not remain in zenanas for many years; the women of the Near East will soon be leaving the harems; Japan is leading the Orient, but her women are asking whither?

WILLIAM E. LAMPE.

Philadelphia, Pa.

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THE NEW JAPANESE
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE life of the Japanese woman is an enigma to most Occidentals. To write about her, while highly interesting, is uncommonly difficult. Consequently her admirable qualities have not often been heralded to the outside world; moreover she, on her part, is entirely satisfied to remain unsung. The present, however, seems to be an opportune time for the people of the West to become more intimately acquainted with Japan's "better half." It may very well be that, in spite of Kipling's dictum, the twain—East and West—may after all meet through the modest charm of Japan's daughters, who are fast becoming positive factors in the development of a new world for themselves.

Some of our people seem to find pleasure in clinging to the old topsyturvydom and other oddities of the Nipponese, though it is well known that these Yankees of the Far East have eliminated much of the strangeness which for a long time has furnished entertainment to the West. These persons apparently desire that Japan should not change, but should continue to be "great in little things and little in great things." This desire is possibly somewhat akin to that of the mothers who want their babies always to remain babies.

Perhaps a partial reason for the continuance of our peculiar love for the antique in Japan, may be found in the highly colored advertisements of some agencies that are directly benefited by making people believe that the feudal quaintness and the general "upsidedownness" of former times still continue in their original fascination. Another cause may doubtlessly be found in the immense crop of books on Japan, written by professional globe-trotters who stay in the country a week or at longest a month. It must be from such sources that some enthusiasts get the fantastic ideas that all Japanese banks employ Chinese clerks, that

Japanese children never cry, that the dancing-girls are paragons as ladies, and that the ordinary women are hopelessly stupid.

Some good books have been written about the women of Japan, but most of these appeared about twenty-five years ago. Moreover the object of these books was largely description, and they were written too long ago to trace the development that is now going on among Japanese women. Dr. Charlotte B. DeForest, however, in her recent book, "The Leaven in Japan," has very admirably presented the educational and the religious phases of woman's life in modern Japan.

It has been said that the Japanese woman was man-made and that in this case the creature excelled its creator. To the credit of both the Japanese man and the Japanese woman it should be said that the woman of Japan has always been less of a slave than most of her Asiatic sisters. Her social status is clearly lower than the man's; but until quite recently, she never counted this as a disadvantage or a disgrace. She has always found real joy in doing what was hers to do and in being what she was expected to be. It was hers to toil unnoticed, but

she did this with pleasure and with no desire to change her position. She was satisfied with her lot. Her object in life was to please her husband and be a self-forgetting, self-sacrificing mother to her children.

The Japanese woman is a woman of extraordinary merit, though her virtues have always been largely passive. Lafcadio Hearn thinks that she is ethically quite different from the Japanese man; that all her self-assertion is repressed and the personality clipped. He speaks of her as, "A being working for others, thinking for others; a being incapable of selfishness and yet very courageous; her existence was a religion, her home a temple, her very word and thought ordered by the law of the cult of the dead."

The twentieth century has brought disturbing influences into this quiet, submissive, hemmed-in, yet happy life. The emancipation of the women of America and Europe, the higher education which many of the Japanese girls now are receiving, the new economic life that has been forced on the women, and the more tolerant attitude of many of the Japanese men themselves, are some of the forces that

have set in motion the rapid changes in the life of the Japanese woman. It is an intensely interesting fact that in the last twenty-five years as much change in the condition of Japan's women was made as it took Europe five hundred years to bring about.

The present writer's twenty-five years of life in inland Japan, thirteen of which have been spent as the head of a college for young Japanese women, have afforded him the opportunity of seeing Japanese home-life at first hand, and this experience has now induced him to write about the status of woman and its more important changes that have taken place during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

It should be kept in mind that the expression "the new womanhood of Japan" as used in the following chapters does not have the same connotation as the rather unsavory "new woman" has in America. The difference or similarity between the status of Oriental and Occidental women will be but little discussed. The purpose is to state facts rather than to make comparisons; to show progress, not as compared with other women, but as compared with the Japanese woman herself. The effort will be

made to draw a cross section of the Japanese woman's life, with a view to bring out as distinctly as possible the upward curve of her development.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD IDEAL

CONFUCIANISM and ancestor-worship have supplied the major part of the basic religious and moral ideas of the Orient. Unless a person has some conception of the profound influence which these have wielded and are still wielding on every phase of life in Japan, he will not be able to form an adequate idea of why society is organized as it is. Needless to say, Confucianism and ancestor-worship teach many excellent virtues, but their ideal for woman is decidedly not one of these. The ancestors that are worshiped are never women, always men. In Japan, there is divine right of men. Through the fiat of Nature, it is impossible to get along racially without the aid of woman as a means, but the male is considered the main object of the human family. Traditionally, woman has been regarded as a parasite and a social debtor who must be supported entirely by the men.

It is a notable fact that before the teachings of Confucius had obtained full sway in Japan, woman's position was markedly higher than afterwards. Japanese historians present many facts that confirm the truth of this statement. They point with pride to the Empress Jingo, who was not only a great ruler but also the famous conqueror of Korea. At any rate, after Confucian ethics had taken possession of the hearts of the intelligentsia, the Japanese woman, as compared with the man, became a slave in everything but in name. Confucianism definitely teaches that women are inferior to men; that they must obey the men; that the woman should have no voice in selecting her husband, the families concerned to do the selecting; that the husband is to have absolute right to rule the wife; that the proper social distinctions between husband and wife be strictly observed.

Kaibara, a famous Confucian scholar and writer of Japan's middle ages, called indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy and silliness, on the part of women, the worst possible maladies. Women are rigidly required to be sexually pure, while no such restrictions are laid on men. Hence, Confucianism, it is easily seen, is pro-

ductive of one morality for men and a very different one for women.

It is very interesting to see how this old ideal expressed itself in numberless social habits and customs. Ancient Japan in conformity with all Asiatic peoples, did not wait until children were grown up to show that the male was superior to the female. If the newly-born child was a boy, the mother took him to the shrine on the thirty-first day of his life. If the newcomer had the misfortune of being a girl, this dedication could not be performed until the thirty-third day of her life. The ancient Hebrews, according to Leviticus 12: 1-5, emphasized this difference still more than the Japanese. If a Jewish son was born the mother could be purified in thirty-three days, but if a daughter was added to the family, sixty-six days were required for the mother's purification.

The ancient wedding-dress of the Japanese woman was white, because white among Shin-toists was the color for mourning and always signified purity. Marriage of a daughter really meant the same as death so far as her relation to the family of her birth was concerned. When she left her father's home to become the wife of

the son of some other family, all parental relation was cut off. She became the absolute possession of the family of her husband. The white wedding garment was to express sorrow to the family in which she was born and it signified to the family of her husband the assent of the parents and daughter to her new life relationship. Besides the white *kimono*, there were at least two changes of costumes made by the bride during the wedding feast which followed immediately after the ceremony. One of these *kimono* was a ceremonial dress, which symbolized that the wearer had all-important religious offices in the new home. The third costume was a working dress, signifying that the bride was to assume the many duties of the household. The bride entered the new family for weal or woe. She could never of her own accord sever the bonds by which she was bound, though her husband's family could send her back to her former home on the slightest provocation.

The *obi* or sash was the sign of the woman's chastity. Thus this beautiful part of a Japanese woman's costume was more than mere art. Often it was used by the wife as a means

of committing suicide when her chastity was doubted by the husband. A new bride usually was provided with a short dagger which was to be used by her as an instrument of self-destruction in case she was dishonored. This heroism was the supreme proof to the husband of the wife's faithfulness.

The Japanese wife of former days was required to blacken her teeth with a certain chemical preparation and keep them black all her married life. Jealousy of the male was very probably the original reason for this odd custom. This was a mark which showed that the woman had entered the married state, and, at the same time, it also relieved her of some of her beauty, thus making her less a target for the eyes of men other than her husband. In the country districts this custom is still somewhat in vogue, though its ancient meaning is now hardly known even by those who practice it.

The married woman had also a very specific way of performing her coiffure. The long hair had to be put up in a *marumage*, which is a round chignon worn on the back of the head. The *marumage* signified not only marriage but

also meant absolute submission on the part of the wearer to her husband's family. With blackened teeth in her mouth and a *marumage* on the back of her head, the new bride's domestic position, as well as the niche she was to occupy in the social organization, was at once as clear as noonday to all who saw her. It was for her the unpardonable sin if thoughtlessly or for any reason whatever she forgot the exact place that was hers to fill.

Custom also, even to this day, requires a woman to show her age by the kind of dress goods she uses. As the years increase, the design on the goods must decrease in size. If the material is striped, the stripes must get narrower as the wearer is getting along in years.

If the wife through the death of her husband was made a widow, she was expected to show her loyalty to him by bobbing her hair. This was a definite sign and vow that she would die a widow. The widower, on the other hand, almost always married again, from three weeks to a year elapsing before he chose another mate. But for the Japanese widow with bobbed hair there was no second marriage. If a widow

in the Occident nowadays should bob her hair, it would very probably have the very opposite signification.

Instead of the handshake and the kiss as forms of greeting, the Japanese people use the *o-jigi*, a deep bow. Men, women, and children spend a great deal of time in bowing to each other. It must be done slowly and with extreme dignity. The significant point of bowing, as far as the woman is concerned, is that society requires that she bow oftener than the man and much deeper. As the bow is really a form of worship, the deeper bow of the woman to the man clearly suggests the inferior position that she holds. Most Japanese men are exceptionally polite, but in going through a door or a gate they do not say *après vous* to their wives,—they go through first, and the women are quite satisfied that the men should do so, for they feel extremely uneasy if circumstances compel them to break this rigid custom.

As is true in most countries, the men and the women of the lower strata of society consider themselves much more nearly equal than is the case higher up. The coolie woman and the coolie man stand much more nearly on the same

level than is the case with their social superiors.

The polite Japanese word for wife in the middle class commoner and above, is *okusama*, the lady of the back parlor. To understand the full meaning of this word, a person must remember that in a Japanese house the front room is occupied by the servants, and the mistress or *okusama* lives in the back part of the house. So far as outward form is concerned, the *okusama* rules the servants and has general charge of running the home. The servants must serve her in what would seem to an Occidental an abject manner. But there is an obverse side to this seeming honorable position of the mistress. The fact is that the back parlor excludes her almost totally from the intellectual, social and business life of her husband. She and her children live almost in a separate world from that of the master.

In former times women in general were regarded as ceremonially unclean. This fact is clearly shown in the customs that were formed in connection with the many sacred mountains of Japan. In order to preserve the sanctity of these mountains women were not allowed by

the priests to climb these holy places. This superstition has now died out.

When circumstances make it necessary that a husband and his wife walk together on the street, they will not walk side by side. The husband will lead the way, and usually about six or eight feet behind him comes the wife, perhaps burdened down with whatever luggage the trip they are taking requires. There is an actual case on record where a kind-hearted man helped his wife to do the week's washing, and when the neighbors heard of this act they were so severe in their criticism that the man with the tender heart, in order to have any peace at all, had to move to another town.

The *samurai*, the knightly class of Japan, have deservedly been given much praise by the world. In the age of Japanese seclusion, it was the *samurai* that advanced civilization as far as military ideas, moral ideas and educational ideas were concerned. In these respects the knights of Japan compared very favorably with those of mediæval Europe, but gallantry towards women was none of the virtues of their moral code. To show much concern for the fair sex, disqualified a man for being a true

samurai. Such conduct would reveal a disgusting weakness which might easily be the beginning of a decline in the spirit of absolute loyalty to his feudal lord. To allow a woman to come between a knight and his lord would be the height of treason.

No matter where one turned, it was everywhere evident that both the family and society desired that wives should totally erase themselves and become merged parts of their husbands. This lesson in an informal way was taught the girls and women all the time. Even the more formal old type education for women had as its obvious object the docility, obedience and dependence of women.

The ancient tea-ceremony was a most tedious affair. The materialistic proverb, "Time is money," could certainly not be applied to this slow, and to the European, meaningless discipline. But to make the women who went through this tea-ceremony patient, subdued and graceful no better exercise could have been devised. The whole of the old etiquette which was taught with such great care to women was a branch of study the object of which was

to train the learners to be gracefully self-effacing, and thus pleasing to the men.

The villain in an old Japanese story or drama was nearly always a woman. It was not for men to be put in a position of disrespect even if such a character was but the figment of some writer's imagination.

The music of ancient Japan which women were privileged to learn was often quite difficult, but it was calculated to express passivity and resignation. Its minor key was to give vent to feelings that were sad and deep but which contained at the same time a spirit of resolution to make any required sacrifice. "*Shikata ga nai*," (it cannot be helped therefore be resigned to your fate), expresses a very common feeling even in present-day Japan.

Flower-arrangement was probably the most delightful course in the old system of education for women. In this study a love of nature and the instinctive appreciation of beauty in general were combined in an unusual way. While the final object of the discipline was to please others, the women who learned this interesting art were themselves elevated by it and received pure joy from it.

As we continue the study of Japanese life we shall find that parts of these ancient ideals for women are still upheld, but it is very obvious that a decided change is taking place in these things and that a quiet but not-to-be-turned-back movement against many of the former things is on foot in Japanese society.

CHAPTER III

MODERN EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

JAPAN has one of the most effective educational systems in the world. You might almost say that education is worshiped in Japan. Over ninety-nine per cent. of her boys and girls are in the elementary schools, and there is hardly any illiteracy among people who are fifty years old and younger. Because of the indiscriminate mixture of things Oriental and things Occidental in the present-day education for girls, there is necessarily a lack of co-ordination between school life and the life at home. Most schools now require that the students wear leather shoes, but at home no one is allowed to wear shoes, as the mat-covered floors would not permit the rough treatment which shoes would give them. At home, all the members of the family sit on the floor, but in school, desks and seats are universally used. The great difference between the architecture

of a dwelling-house and that of a school-building makes it difficult to observe in the home the health education which is given in the school. This is especially true in the case of girls. The rather subdued part that they must take in the work of the home is not suitable for the application of the principles of gymnastics and athletics upon which the schools so rigidly insist.

The girls' *kimono* may be the proper thing for the home of the old style, but it is totally unsuited for modern school-work. Its immensely long sleeves interfere with the use of pen and pencil or blackboard crayon, and the fact that it is open in front does not permit the girls to engage in any active exercise without exposing their legs. To avoid this a specially made school-skirt, *hakama*, is required to be worn over the *kimono* by all school girls. It is evident, therefore, that in these external matters the home and the school do not harmonize as well as might be the case.

There is also a similar admixture of the old and the new in the purpose and content of education for Japanese girls. Ancient etiquette, ceremonial tea, and flower-arrangement are not so much called for now; but English, Western

music, and domestic science are eagerly sought by most girl students. The purpose of female education as expressed in the official textbooks on ethics, has, however, not been very much influenced by modern ideas. According to the fourth volume of *Ethics for Girls' High Schools*, the duty of a woman is "to get married, to help her husband, to bring up children, to attend to housekeeping. She is to welcome her husband home with a gentle look, and cheer him up for the following day's work. Her husband's parents are hers. She must obey her mother-in-law."

This moral teaching is based on the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued in 1890. To the Japanese people this document is divinely inspired. It states that the perfect morality has been handed down from the Imperial Ancestors. Among other things, it commands the Japanese people: "Be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives, be harmonious; as friends, true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and, thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral power; fur-

thermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws. Should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state, and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne, coeval with Heaven and Earth."

The interpretation of these principles and their practical application to the life of the nation constitute the supreme and ever-present duty of all Japanese educators and statesmen.

There is a much abused Japanese phrase, "*Ryosai kembo*," which means, good wife, wise mother. This is held up by the conservatives as the supreme ideal for woman's education. The phrase is surrounded with a certain kind of sanctity, and when the modernist rudely invades its halo, the wonted clamorous scene is enacted by the reactionaries. But with every onslaught made by the advocates of the newer education, the voices of the Ichabod Cranes seem to grow slightly fainter. There are many women in Japan and some men, who believe that a woman should at least have the right to pursue an avocation along with her vocation

of bringing children into the world and of being the passive angel of her master.

Japan has made a thorough study of the co-educational system of education that is in vogue in the United States. The only element in this system that is attractive to her is the economic side of it. She has very grave doubts as to a desirable outcome, should she try this scheme. The main reason for looking askance at co-education is not the possibility of immorality between the sexes. It is rather that Japanese men educators fear that co-education in the United States has had a tendency to neutralize the sexes so that a feeling akin to that existing between brothers and sisters has been produced and that thus the number of marriages has been reduced and the birth rate unfavorably affected.

Probably the women of no other country have ever set themselves a task of such stupendous proportions as have the progressive women of Japan, and none have ever attacked their problems so quietly and so wisely. There will be no militant suffragettes, no "hatchet" affairs, and no smashing of show-cases as ways of expressing the equality of women and men. The method of procedure is far less boisterous but

very probably quite as effective. In an unassuming manner the women of Japan are most ardently striving to get an education equal to that given to the men and, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, they are on all sides entering the world of industry and commerce.

It is quite impossible to describe fully the tremendous demand for higher education on the part of the young women. The government is giving heed to this demand, to a certain extent, by establishing many new high schools for girls. The number of qualified applicants for these high schools is from three to six times as large as the number that can be accommodated. The only way to be admitted to these schools is by rigid competitive entrance examinations. Graduation from the high school ends the education of most girls, for with the exception of two normal colleges for women, the government has no ordinary colleges into which graduates of high schools can be admitted. The Imperial University at Sendai has admitted two or three women students, but the Department of Education seems in this matter to be acting on the principle of "watchful waiting."

There are at present six or seven private col-

leges for women, but these institutions are not permitted to bestow any degrees on their graduates. This privilege is reserved to the Imperial Universities.

The point in the Japanese woman's movement that is most interesting and fullest of meaning is the conflict between the desire on the part of the young women for higher education and the age-long demand by society that women should marry young and become the mothers of many children. This conflict at times reaches a state of white heat and is causing not a few heartburnings.

Recently a case came before the public, in which the daughter of a certain family was preparing herself to enter one of the private colleges. She was more than happy in the prospect of getting a higher education. A few weeks before the opening of the school year she wrote to the president of the college, "I must go bride," "I must go bride." The import of this quaint but exceedingly expressive English was clear enough. While the daughter was preparing herself to go to college her parents were busy selecting a young man to be the husband of their daughter. The parents won in the race,

and the girl was literally "driven to matrimony." This, however, is not the end of the battle, it is merely the beginning of it. The final victory will have been won when the daughters of this coerced mother will graduate from the colleges of their day. There are thousands of cases similar to this one; but there are also instances in which the girls win out. Some of these gain their point by the effective way in which they use their feminine tears in the presence of the fathers. The ways are legion and the result is that the number of girls entering colleges is fast increasing.

Turning now to the grade and extent of education, it is to be noted that the school system of Japan, like that of every other country, consists of elementary schools, secondary schools, and universities. During the first six years of the elementary schools, attendance is compulsory for both boys and girls, and the grade of work for the two sexes is exactly the same. The high schools, prefectural normal schools, and vocational schools admit students upon the completion of these six years of work in the elementary school. There is a so-called higher elementary school for the 7th and 8th

grades, but this school is not very popular, because most of the pupils are children who have failed in the entrance examinations for the high schools.

The high schools usually have a course of four years, though some of them have a five year course. The sexes are strictly separated in the high schools. The grade of the girls' high schools is distinctly lower than that for the boys. It is evident from official statistics that the salaries also of the principals and teachers of the girls' high schools are lower than those of boys' high schools. The discrimination against girls in the matter of educational facilities begins the moment they leave the elementary schools. Not only are the girls' high schools of a lower grade than those established for the boys, but excepting the Higher Normal Schools at Tokyo and at Nara there is as yet no way open to young women to continue their education above the high school in government institutions. The educational system for young women ends either in a blind alley or in matrimony.

It should be noted that prefectures and cities, as well as private persons, are conducting many

girls' schools of the vocational type. Such institutions specialize in domestic science, industrial education, commercial education, nurses' and midwives' training, dentistry, and medicine.

There are about four millions of girls in the elementary schools and about 130,000 students in the 455 public and private high schools for girls. It hardly needs to be stated that the number of these schools and their students are rapidly increasing.

The content of girls' education is much wider than it is deep. It is almost unbelievable how many varied subjects are taught in the girls' high schools. When one remembers that of the total of the ten or eleven years schooling which a high school graduate receives, it takes almost three years to master enough Chinese characters to pursue the course to the end, the wonder is that because of this excessively heavy work not more students succumb to tuberculosis than is the actual case. The course in the high school is entirely fixed and required. The new students do not need to worry about electing studies,—that is all done for them by the authorities.

The first branch to be noted in the curric-

ulum as fixed by the Department of Education, is that of morals. This is taught throughout the whole course of four years. The object of this branch is to teach the girls what a good Japanese woman is, what her duties are. Not much is said about any rights. In general, the morality taught is based on loyalty and filial piety and is decidedly conservative in tendency. Etiquette is a regular branch in all girls' high schools. In material it is related to morals as it insists that girls should manifest a good heart and pure motives in daily behavior as well as in the use of language and in social intercourse.

The Japanese language and its literature are properly stressed in the curriculum. The aim is to give the students power to understand literature, to develop the ability to express thought correctly, and to form a literary taste. In this way it is expected that the intelligence will be enhanced and a broad character formed in the students. Chinese literature as taught in the Japanese schools takes somewhat the place of Latin in Occidental schools; but there is a still closer relation between Japanese and Chinese than between English and Latin. Only the classical Chinese is used in this study. Eng-

lish is taught in all high schools, and relatively much time is spent on this modern language. The aim is to have the student acquire a reading knowledge of English, though conversation is also given in the majority of schools.

Penmanship necessarily receives a great deal of emphasis. The object is to learn to write the Chinese and the Japanese characters correctly and with speed, and to acquire the ability to use the writing-brush with artistic results. The students by writing these ideograms will also remember their meaning. The square, the semi-cursive, and the cursive styles of writing the characters are taught.

History includes the ancient, mediæval and modern periods of Japanese history and the history of Oriental countries other than Japan. The salient points of Western history are also contained in the text book. The field covered in history seems to be too wide to give the students much more than a smattering of this branch of study. In geography, the physical, political, and commercial aspects of the subject are studied.

Mathematics in these schools consists of arithmetic, algebra, and plane geometry. The

natural sciences are botany, zoology, physics, chemistry, physiology and hygiene. A great deal of ground is covered in science. But as the high school is the most advanced school open to these students, and as an intelligent person ought to know at least something about the natural sciences, the Department of Education sees fit to offer the students a little of many sciences rather than much of a few.

Drawing is in the curriculum of all Japanese schools. There is no doubt that more real art is taught in the Japanese schools than in the schools of any other country. The teacher does not only insist on having the students draw the pictures carefully but he also endeavors to inspire in the minds of the girls noble ideals of beauty. Free-hand drawing, especially of scenery, is much encouraged. The art of music is not neglected in Japanese schools. It is much more difficult for the students than drawing, but it is faithfully taught. Vocal music is a required study in all girls' high schools, and instrumental music usually is optional.

Domestic science is considered an important branch in this grade of schools. The course aims to give the students a knowledge of do-

mestic economy and to train the future housewives in thrift, work, orderliness, accuracy and cleanliness. The subjects covered are clothing, food, the house, the rearing of children, household management, sick-nursing, and home economics. Sewing is treated as a separate branch in domestic art, to which four or six hours a week for four years of the course, are devoted. Sewing by hand and by machine, cutting, the nature of materials, matching of patterns, fancy-work, embroidery, instruction in washing, starching, and ironing constitute the principal parts of the work in this practical study.

Physical education is faithfully and effectively taught throughout the course. It includes theory, but more especially general gymnastics and games, outdoor exercises and athletics, including drills, running, jumping, tennis, basketball, hockey, mountain climbing, swimming and field sports. The Japanese students are quick and agile, and it is notable with what success they are engaging in all forms of physical education. It is only too obvious that they need to improve their physique. Physically, the Japanese are smaller than Occidentals, and the

women are much smaller than the men. The average height of the adult Japanese woman is four feet, eight and a third inches, and her weight is 122 pounds. One more peculiarity of the Japanese woman is that she ages quite early. At thirty-five many of the women seem old. This involves a very serious problem, but the new education of the body is surely doing wonders. When young girls and their mothers are walking together on the street it is very evident that the daughters have a much finer physique than the mothers have ever had.

There is hardly any objection made to this enthusiasm for Western athletics. The old idea that grace is found in weakness is being driven out of Japan. Japan knows that if she desires to have strong sons she must first have strong mothers.

Some time ago, the following editorial appeared in the *Asahi*, the leading Tokyo daily: "It is a welcome sign that baseball which has hitherto been a game for boys exclusively is finding favor in some girls' schools, and that athletic meets for women are being organized on a grand scale. We think it necessary that this tendency should be fostered and guided

wisely so as to contribute to the reconstruction of the physique of Japanese womanhood."

It is a praiseworthy fact that the Department of Education of Japan is putting strong emphasis in about equal measure on the mental, the moral, and the physical sides of the education of her young men and young women.

In justice to the Christian (Mission) girls' schools in Japan, it should be stated that Christianity brought the girls' high school to Japan as early as 1870. Before that time there was no school of this grade in all Japan. For about twenty years these Mission schools were leading in this kind of education. Later on, the first college for women, too, came from the same source. These facts are gratefully admitted by all the leading Japanese educators. At present, about one-tenth of all the girl students in the high schools and colleges are found in Christian schools. It is also a fact that the Christian girls' schools first popularized the organ and the piano in Japan. Moreover these educational institutions gave a great impetus to the study of English as the most important foreign language. Western domestic science was largely promoted by this type of school, and so

was the great necessity for the physical education of the girls. Without taking into consideration the decided influence of the Christian schools in Japan, it is quite impossible to account properly for the educational progress that has been made among the women.

CHAPTER IV

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, THE FAMILY SYSTEM, AND WOMAN

THE worship of ancestors has probably been practiced by all the races of men at some time in their history, as evident traces of it are found in the Old Testament and in the sacred writings of almost all ancient peoples. It is very probably within the realm of fact to say that the United States is the only country where to-day this religious practice is not found. As there is an intimate relation between feudalism and ancestor worship, it is not strange to find that in Japan, where feudalism was officially abolished only some fifty-two years ago and where the general atmosphere still is rather feudalistic, ancestor-worship should be the very cornerstone of society. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity came to Japan from without, ancestor-worship alone is indigenous. No one who does not have a true knowledge

of the Japanese and sympathy with them is able to interpret with any degree of fairness the ancient religious ideas of this profoundly religious people.

The Japanese word *Chuko* contains the essence of both morals and religion. This word is made up of two Chinese characters, *Chu* and *Ko*. *Chu* means loyalty to the Emperor, even the worship of him. *Ko* means filial piety on the part of the children to the father and the worship of the father's ancestors. There is no moral conflict between allegiance to the Emperor and the worship of one's ancestors, for the Emperor is conceived of as the father of all Japanese. Dr. Charlotte B. DeForest in *The Leaven in Japan* calls the virtues of loyalty and filial piety *perpendicular* virtues, as the relationships represented are those holding between superiors and inferiors.

As has already been intimated, ancestor-worship traces relationship in the male line only, the mother's line of ancestry being completely swallowed up in the father's. The only seeming exception to this rule appears when there are no sons in a family, and a daughter must carry on the family line. The parents

of such a daughter seek out some marriageable man who is willing to change his name to that of his wife's family name. The ancestors to be worshiped seem to accept worship from the offspring of such a union just as though the adopted husband were a real descendant. It is quite easy to understand that the family system built on this religion could not think of women as the equals of men.

Woman is clearly a dependent who makes her lot bearable by tact and kindness to her husband and the others above her—her oldest son and her mother-in-law. Inherently the Japanese woman is modest to the point of servility, always working for others. If she did not have these virtues she could not be faithful to the supreme duty which ancestor-worship lays upon her,—the giving birth to ancestor worshipers. Marriage does not directly consider the happiness of the man and woman concerned. It is first and foremost the means of perpetuating the worship of the husband's ancestors. Nothing could be more unfilial than to be without posterity. Indeed, this is the unforgivable sin against the spirit of the ancestors. The dead

and those about to die rule the living with an iron hand.

As marriage is a social and religious necessity it cannot be left to the free choice of the two youthful persons immediately concerned; and since love before marriage is looked upon with grave suspicion by the elders, there is no courtship and very little romance in the life of a Japanese young woman. The family is under obligation to select the partners that are suitable for its sons and daughters. For this purpose a very complicated but efficient system of match-making has been evolved. The "go-between," as the match-maker is called, is appointed by the parents, and he is supposed to work in the interests of the family that employs him. He makes a very careful investigation into the history of such young women as seem suitable for the young man whose family he is serving. Is the family of the *samurai* or commoner class; is there the possibility of any "bad blood," namely leprosy, in the family; any insanity; any tuberculosis; is the young woman chaste; are the family customs such that there would not be any conflict; has there been any serious crime in the family history; is the girl

properly humble, obedient, hard-working; does she know how to sew, cook, take care of children; will she know how to serve and obey her husband and to be pleasantly subject to her mother-in-law? To these, and many other questions a faithful go-between has to ferret out answers in secret detective style. On the other hand, it is, of course, his duty to hide adroitly all the possible defects that the young man (or young woman) he represents may have. Fortunately there is one way by which the girl under examination has some redress. Her family also, doubtlessly, has a go-between out on the war-path, or perhaps better love-path; and if the parents truly care for their daughter, they will see to it that the young man, so highly recommended by his own go-between, will get a similar third-degree investigation before a marriage is consummated. The go-betweens are held strictly responsible for the success or failure of the marriage.

Before the wedding ceremony takes place, the man and woman concerned are allowed, in a very formal manner, to see each other once. If there is nothing intolerable between the two, presents are exchanged between the two fami-

lies. These presents usually consist of an *obi* (sash) or ring from the man to the woman, and silk is often the present from the woman to the would-be husband.

No license is required for the marriage. The ceremony is purely social, or rather, domestic, usually performed in the groom's home. No priest or justice of the peace is required. It consists in the sipping of *saké* (rice wine) from the same three cups three times each by the groom and the bride in the presence of the go-between and his wife and a girl who acts as cup-bearer. Of recent years in the larger cities, some bridal couples go to certain famous shrines to pledge faithfulness to each other and to pay vows to the ancestors.

The marriage is legalized by reporting it to the proper authorities and by erasing the woman's name from her family register and changing it to that of her husband, and then adding it to the husband's family on the official register. The parents send their daughter to the new family with this injunction: "You now have no home except your husband's."

As already noted, the success of a marriage is not measured by the happiness of the man and

woman, but by whether or not there are children born to them. If no worshipers of the ancestors are produced, the marriage is religiously and domestically a failure. If daughters only are born, the parents can remove this disadvantage by adopting a young man into the family, who will then marry a daughter. When a couple is entirely childless, adoption of both a boy and a girl is resorted to with the idea that at the proper age these will get married and perpetuate the family of their foster parents. The great sin of childlessness usually is charged to sterility in the wife.

The ordinary Westerner simply cannot appreciate fully the bitterness of the anxiety that is the lot of a childless couple in Japan. One may form some little idea of their feelings by imagining their ancestral shades suspended somewhere in eternity anxiously awaiting the continued worship of their descendants on earth. If for any reason whatever, physical, moral, or religious, the line of posterity should suddenly cease to function, what an everlasting sorrow that would be to the shades in the other world! It is even supposable that other shades of other families whose descendants on

earth are supplying a numerous family of worshipers, might point the finger of derision at those who have a posterity that has become so demoralized as to be guilty of allowing the family line to die out. Besides this, there is the terrible fear that the dishonored shades might from yonder world wield the lash of condign punishment on the derelicts upon earth. Then, too, there would be formed in the mind of the patriot the dread picture of an ill fate to the Empire, if too many family lines should cease to be.

There is much in ancestor-worship that is very highly regarded by many good people in the world; but, as often is the case in religion and philosophy, it suffers from the vices of its virtues.

The fact that love between the sexes before marriage is regarded with universal disapproval by parents has been the cause of an immense amount of misery and tragedy. And yet in spite of all the vigilance of the elders cases where young people fall in love are by no means rare in Japan. The long list of lovers' suicides which this system has produced, is to say the least, a sad commentary on it. A very

common method of committing suicide under such circumstances is for the two lovers to tie themselves together with a rope or the woman's *obi*, and then throw themselves in front of a moving express train. The love-crazed man and woman believe that this is the only way by which they can properly impress those who have opposed their marriage. An older method of self-destruction for lovers and others, was to throw themselves into the wells of those who refuse to sanction the union. The newest of all methods is to drink *Neko Irazu*, "Rough on Rats." The drug-stores of Japan are very strictly cautioned by the authorities not to sell this kind of poison to young people.

The sad fact is that many of the young people allow themselves to be forced into a matrimony that will be totally unhappy. To avoid this, elopement has been tried; but in Japan there is no place to which it is safe to elope. The runaways are always quickly brought back in much disgrace.

Another by-product of this religious practice is that it has always tended to make woman's married state unstable. Sterility in a

wife was considered a social justification for divorce. If a wife could not bear any children the husband, not infrequently from religious motives, felt impelled to find one who would be able to give birth to worshipers. It ought to be stated in this connection that the divorce evil in Japan is steadily improving, only eleven per cent or less of the marriages now ending in divorce. In former days if it was inconvenient for the man to divorce his wife for this reason, concubinage offered another way of securing worshipers. It is now illegal to keep a concubine, but there are still many cases where this law is observed in the breach.

The system of prostitution, of which so much has been written, has always found a rather dependable supporter, at least in an indirect way, in the family system. In Japan filial piety, as a virtue, stands above chastity. If it seems to be impossible to observe both of these virtues, it is in the case of a woman chastity that must be broken, according to the ancient code. When the family happened to be in financial straits, it sometimes became the duty of a daughter to sell herself to the brothels and with the money she received to save the family from ruin. The

unprincipled agents of the prostitute quarters were not slow to utilize this social idea in their efforts to entice poor girls, who thought they were doing a noble act by helping their families in this way. This custom has now been almost completely abolished. Only when very hard times or famine make their appearance, may such cases still be found.

During a rice famine a certain missionary was called upon to contribute one dollar towards preventing a young girl from being sold into a house of shame. A Japanese social worker had found this girl in a railroad station, on her way to a Tokyo brothel. The amount of money required to free her from her obligation was four dollars. The social worker had secured three dollars before, and now he ran four blocks to the missionary's home to get the other dollar from him. The dollar was given, and in a short time the girl was brought to the missionary's house. Later on, a suitable young man was found as a husband for her, and she is now living a good and useful life. The government is making honest efforts to prevent all such traffic in women, but in spite

of these endeavors the evil is not yet fully exterminated.

There are very few bachelor maidens in Japan for the reason that such women have always been despised as lacking both in patriotism and filial piety. Before the present conditions in the industrial life existed, matrimony was the only possible career for a woman. An unattached female, until very recently, was considered a calamity, if she was at all to blame for her unmated condition.

The widow's lot was only slightly better than that of her unmarried sister. The word for widow in Japanese is *mibojin*, which literally means "the-not-yet-dead-person." Originally, this implied that the widow ought to have killed herself at the death of her husband so that she might have followed him to the other world to serve him there. By the fact that she is still living it is clear that she is unworthy of his memory. She was expected to look pale and dejected as if in unending but unexpressed sorrow for her departed mate. Her words must be happy and pleasant to those around her, but at heart she must pine away until the time when she may follow her husband. While a great

change has taken place in society's attitude towards the widow the former ideal has not yet been altogether removed from the social consciousness.

A woman experiences her greatest happiness in life when she is old and has a daughter-in-law in her house, who must obey her and work for her, and who respects her. There is in all this, on the part of the mother-in-law, a sort of an unholy revenge, for in her younger days she too had to serve an arduous apprenticeship as daughter-in-law.

When all is said, ancestor-worship has a truly beautiful side to it. This is perhaps seen at its best in the kind of mother it has produced. The Japanese mother, in the estimation of many people, is incomparably the best mother in the world. She is completely unselfish. She lives for her children and her husband. She lavishes affection on her little ones and literally "dies daily" for them. As a rule, she is remarkably prolific and her creed seems to be, "Happy is the man that has his quiver full." Motherhood is her crown and she wears it with joy.

In Japan the birth rate is relatively very high,

but the death-rate is also very high. This latter condition is not caused by lack of care and concern on the part of the mother, but sometimes by lack of knowledge; more frequently it is caused by lack of means and the sanitary conditions required to care properly for the little ones. While the children are small, but little punishment is administered by the parents and so one can see exceedingly naughty children in Japan. But the moment they become adults or near-adults the vise of the family system is applied to them with tremendous pressure, making disobedience almost impossible. A renegade from the authority of the family can find no place of rest day or night. The whole of society, good and bad, is against him. Therefore, Hamlet-like, he rather bears the ills he now has than fly into the jaws of others that will unquestionably be more grievous than the ones that now irritate him.

This solidarity of the family has kept beggars, so prevalent in many other countries, practically unknown in Japan. The family is religiously, domestically, socially, and legally responsible for all its members, whether they be good, bad or indifferent. Even insane members

of the family—if there happened to be any—had in the past to be cared for privately in the family. This was an unfortunate effect of the system, because no private home is equipped to take care of insane people. Some shocking examples of maltreatment of demented members of families are on record. The authorities have wisely stepped in and are fast establishing proper institutions for the incurably insane.

One other praiseworthy by-product of the family system is the fact that no orphanages were needed in the Japan of the olden times. The orphans were reared in the family of the nearest relative just as carefully as the children born in the family. As all children normally ought to live in a family, and not in an institution, these orphans were given the best possible preparation for life. But these things are also changing. Large orphanages have now become a necessity in Japan, and many children are cared for in institutions of this nature.

Though the influence of ancestor-worship and the family system has been immensely powerful, the new world of influences is making sad havoc of it. Woman treated in an unfair way in many respects for ages is now beginning to

talk about rights. She would like to demand as much purity of life in her husband as he requires of her. In the larger cities matrimonial bureaus are now established where unmarried men and women can pay the required fee and put their names on the list, stating at the same time what kind of partners they desire. While this method of finding a mate apparently gives more freedom to the individual than the family method, it is doubtful whether the results are as good. The same must be said of the newspaper advertisements inserted by men and women who are seeking life partners.

It is clear that if this family religion is to continue to have effective control over Japanese society, it must modify and readjust itself to an immense extent. Since its very nature is to worship the dead and the past, it is difficult to imagine how it can ever become the progressive force which twentieth century conditions assuredly demand.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRY AND WOMAN'S NEW RÔLE OUTSIDE THE HOME

THE Japanese women's new world of work was not sought by them. They are being forced out of their former station by the new industry and the new economics that have become the basic forces of society. Japan's women have always been industrious. Work has been their life, and the word *laziness* surely is not to be found in their dictionary. For centuries they have been trained to serve others, and they have found joy in doing so. When the industrial revolution began in Japan and the need of willing workers became urgent, it was an easy matter to persuade the women to offer their services in these new and untried fields of labor. Many thought they saw in this turn of circumstances a fine opportunity to be of practical help in the support of the family. Others seized this chance to become more inde-

pendent from the pressure of the old system, but none of them saw the possibility of any hidden dangers that might be lurking in this new life. They could not dream that their beautiful virtue of submissive obedience might possibly be abused by industrialism, where, it has been discovered, it is necessary that women in order to survive must be able to protect themselves against the pitfalls of a selfish and heartless world.

The factories that sprang up were entered by hordes of women with such will and vigor that to-day there are more women workers of this kind than men workers. This is a unique industrial condition, possibly not found in any other nation. It was brought about on the one hand by the great desire of the women to improve their lot in life, and on the other hand by the employers, who coveted female workers because their labor could be bought at a much cheaper figure than the men's.

The female population of Japan is at present well over 25,000,000. Approximately one-half of this population is gainfully employed. Of this half, some eight millions are engaged in farm work and in the home. The remaining

four and a half millions or more are engaged in various forms of industrial, commercial and professional pursuits. The total number of women employed in factories is about 1,250,000, which is 60 per cent. of all the factory employees of both sexes.

The principal agricultural products of Japan are rice, tea and silk. The farmer women help a great deal in the raising of rice and do most of the work connected with the picking of tea leaves and the raising of silkworms. Of the workers in raw silk, seventy per cent. are women. It is a matter of peculiar interest that the world's women provide the major part of the labor of the entire silk industry, beginning with the eggs of the silkworm on to the finished hosiery and dresses. It is also women who wear by far the greater part of the garments that are manufactured from this silk.

The government of Japan employs more than twice as many women as men in its larger tobacco factories. In the cotton spinning mills as large a proportion as 80 per cent. of all the employees are females. Some of the many other industries in which women contribute a large share of the labor are matting-weaving, dyeing,

embroidery, brush making, match-box making, glass-working and printing.

It is not creditable to Japanese society that some 80,000 women are reported as still engaged in coal-mining. The men dig the coal and the women carry it in baskets strapped to their backs, from the place where it is mined to the cars that take it away. This seems to be a death-dealing kind of work for women. The average wage paid to women for this burdensome labor is less than a dollar a day. Concerning this condition, Mrs. Margaret Wells Wood, in the *Christian Movement*, 1923, remarks: "The statistics of the number of still-born children and the appalling number of deaths of newly-born children in mining communities are an indication of the waste of life that is going on because of the employment of women at this dangerous work." Mrs. Wood found that some of the spinning, weaving and dyeing factories, where the great bulk of the workers are young women, reveal conditions that are as unfortunate as those that prevail in the coal mines.

One is impressed, in the first place, by the youth of the female workers in these industries. Nearly two-thirds of the female employees are

under twenty, one-fifth of them are between twelve and fifteen, and a few are even less than twelve years of age. Only a few of these girls stay in the work for any length of time, about three-fourths of the female operatives being changed every year. Many of the girls take up this work with the definite hope of earning some money preparatory to their marriage. The wages paid range from twenty-five cents to a dollar a day. The cotton mills run twenty to twenty-two hours a day with two shifts, half an hour rest being allowed at noon and at midnight, and fifteen minutes at nine and at three o'clock. But there have been silk filatures that worked their girls seventeen hours a day, with only short rest periods at meal time. This has now been reduced in some cases to fourteen, and in others to sixteen hours a day. Some factories grant two holidays a month, others, four rest-days per month, and still others have their employees rest every Sunday, but when the trade requires it, some or all of these rest-days are withheld. Night work for women is still found in cotton mills where the operatives work by night on alternate weeks. It is expected that the new factory law will improve

this condition, but it has not yet become fully effective.

In many factories the working conditions other than the long hours are unsatisfactory. All who have made special investigations of Japanese industries report that in many cases fast revolving machinery is unguarded and heavy machines are crowded into poorly built structures, for as yet there are no standards of factory construction. At many places the human element seems to be ignored. This is said to be especially true where women are concerned, for there are still employers who do not consider them as having bodies and souls that must be respected and protected.

If the safety of the women workers is often neglected by the proprietors, modern sanitation is not observed any more satisfactorily. Contagious eye diseases are prevalent and so are venereal diseases. Tuberculosis, in the cotton factories, is such a scourge that, in some cases, from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the operatives are suffering from it. There are 23,000 factories in Japan, and according to a recent report, less than twenty-three of them have resident physicians.

The early inauguration of the so-called "dormitory system" in Japanese industry is something new in the factory world. In order to get cheap factory sites where water-power can be utilized, many of the mills are located in the mountains, quite distant from town or city. In order to secure operatives in these uninhabited regions, dormitories seemed to be a necessity. But because of the rapid growth of industry, the short period during which women work, and because of the unfavorable reports that have been spread as to the general conditions, it has become quite difficult for the operators to keep the dormitories filled. Labor agents are employed who go to all the country districts to "drum up" the business, and as they receive a certain sum for every girl secured, they are apt to paint in glowing colors the delightful life in the factory dormitory. They make a contract with the girls' parents fixing the wages and specifying that periodic remittances are to be made to the home folks. The agents advance for outfit and transportation a certain sum to each worker recruited. Thus the new employee begins work as a debtor to her em-

ployer, which binds her firmly to him whether such was the original intention or not.

In order to be fair to all concerned, it must be said with emphasis that not all of these institutions are conducted in an inhumane way. Many of the larger dormitories are carried on in a decent, sanitary, up-to-date fashion. It is rather in the smaller dormitories that one finds over-crowding, the bedding used, day and night, "in common, unaired and thus becoming the fertile bearer of diseases of various kinds." Much complaint is also made as to the food given to the working girls by the managers of these dormitories. But a still worse charge against some of these dormitories is that the employers are not infrequently in league with the procurers for the houses of prostitution. Even if there is no such league, the panders for the brothels like to loiter around these dormitories hoping by means of shrewd methods to lure some of the working girls to these dens of vice.

Thus it is seen that the new industrial world into which the women of Japan have entered with so much zest contains for them an incredibly long array of serious menaces. These fe-

male employees are shamelessly exploited by the inhuman shortsightedness of some employers. The women will, however, be obliged to keep on, for they cannot go back to their former world of work because that does not any longer exist. But exploitation has a limit, and that limit seems to have been reached in Japan. The wise employers of women have begun to treat their female employees like human beings. They are kind to them and provide for their health and safety. The women are also beginning to understand the "tricks of the trade," and refuse to be exploited so grossly. The government, seeming to be suspicious of organized labor, is itself making honest efforts to correct, by means of legislation, the existing abuses.

The much discussed Factory Law of Japan was first enacted in 1911. It was to be partially enforced in 1916, and is to become fully operative in 1931. It is a law without many teeth. By the original provisions children under fifteen, and women during the next fifteen years, may not work more than fourteen hours in the twenty-four. After 1931, they may not work over twelve hours. Women may not work between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m., unless

there are shifts, and after 1931 they may not do night work at all. The law applied only to factories that employ fifteen persons or more. During the busy season of the silk industry and some others, the working-day may be lengthened provided the sanction of the government be secured.

In 1923, amendments to the law were passed which provide that this law shall be applied to all factories that employ ten or more persons. The age of juvenile workers is to be raised from twelve to fourteen, and a health insurance department for laborers is to be established.

At the time of the Washington Hours of Work Convention, Japan agreed to the provision that children under sixteen and women are not to be employed more than eleven hours a day; but exception is made in the silk industry. Children under sixteen and women are to have two rest days a month; if they are on night work they are entitled to four rest days a month. The act prohibits work between 10:00 p.m. and 5:00 a.m. for children under sixteen and women, but allows work up to 11:00 p.m. with the sanction of the authorities. The act also provides that in case of maternity and sick

women medical approval is required before working is permitted. Post-maternity women may with similar approval resume work three weeks after the birth of the child.

Thus the law has been greatly improved, but there is much complaint that the thirty divisional superintendents and the three hundred inspectors, stipulated by the law, do not succeed in carrying out very rigidly the provisions of the Factory Law. Improvements will continue to be made, for the Japanese people will not allow themselves to be held up as less humane than the people of other nations.

Some three millions of girls and women are engaged in public service, commercial, and professional walks of life. These include work such as clerking in stores and other business houses, railroad ticket offices, banks, post offices, telephone and telegraph offices, teaching in schools, nursing and midwifery. Clerks in stores and other business houses, number about 1,500,000; public service and trades employ about 350,000 girls; one-half of the teachers in the more than 25,000 elementary schools are women, and about 4,000 women teach in the high schools. The women teachers receive only

from one-half to two-thirds as much salary as do the men teachers in the same grade. There are about 35,000 nurses, 35,000 midwives and 700 women doctors in Japan. Of the Japanese nurses it can be said that they are exceptionally efficient. They are kind and sympathetic to the patient and obedient to the doctors. But it has been said that because of their total dependence on the doctors, they have made the nurse's work a trade rather than a profession.

The professional career for Japanese women is still limited though law is probably the only one from which they are absolutely excluded. This general limitation does not imply that women lack the brain power to serve society in this public way or in any other way. The underlying reason for it is that ancestral religion, social organization, and law, all, definitely place the right to rule the family and the duty to support it on the *men* of the nation. Wholesale competition by the women along any line with these ordained supporters of the house and home, is still frowned upon—and not without reason—by a large part of society. Obviously there is in this a social inconsistency. This anomalous situation will correct itself only

when the individual will have both duties and rights which will help him to become economically independent.

It will be a surprise to the Occidental industrial worker to find that with the exception of the members of the rather weak labor organization of Japan, laboring men and women prefer to work under the conditions as they now exist. There was real sorrow in the hearts of many workers when the Factory Law partially went into effect. They felt that the right to decide the time and place of working was to them a sacred one, and to put any limitation on this, would inevitably mean suffering to them. In many cases the fear of these workers was well founded, for when the hours were reduced, their daily income was also reduced.

The Japanese woman is passing through the same school of suffering that the women of the most advanced Occidental nations had to pass through. She will, in due time, have all the liberty that she is able to use; for with ability to use new rights, these rights will be forthcoming. The very surest way to produce a national calamity would be to give instantaneously to Japanese women full equality with men in all

relationships of life. The women would be the chief sufferers. They must pass through a preparatory course before they can graduate into full equality. The women themselves will have to provide the initiative in this educational effort, as the course will very largely be a self-taught one. The method by which the Japanese women will reach this goal will likely be that of reformation—not that of revolution.

CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE WOMEN AND THE FINE ARTS

THE Japanese are born artists. The aesthetic in life is by them consciously and unconsciously cultivated, and beauty is a real part of life whether that life is lived in a hovel or in a palace. Instinctively the people understand how to look at an object of art or of nature so as to know exactly what they are seeing. Of recent years the Occident has tempted Japan to believe that real art takes too much time. And true, it does take time to see the beautiful, and still more to meditate upon it in order to appreciate it fully.

Probably there is no better place to observe this inborn art than in and around the humble home of the peasant. The Western traveler, merely glancing at the obvious poverty of those living in such a home, is apt to pity these people because, as he thinks, there is in their life, from birth to death, not an iota of comfort or enjoy-

ment. In his haste "to catch the next train," he does not see the beautiful flowers around the house nor the ancient *kakemono* or panel-pictures on the walls of the otherwise dingy rooms. Even the few simple utensils that are used by the hard-working woman of the home bear the unmistakable stamp of real art. It is not extravagant to say that in the Japanese home, wholly uninfluenced by the West, the ugly things are artistically beautiful. This native sense of the beautiful is, of course, not limited to either sex; but in the ordinary family it is probably true that it is transmitted more frequently by the mother than by the father.

It is especially interesting to see how this artistic ability expresses itself in the art classes of the Japanese girls' schools. Usually the teacher takes his classes out on the campus and finds some scenery for his students to sketch. Be the girls old or young, the difficult pictures mysteriously appear on the paper, and without the least visible effort on the part of the students.

One is therefore not surprised that in the frequent art exhibits which are held in the large cities many of the paintings are by women.

There is hardly a kind of painting that has not been tried with success by Japanese women. While the women artists are at their best when they paint purely Japanese pictures, there have been many who have done European painting with credit to themselves. Landscape painting is probably the forte of Japanese women artists. The best known artist of this class is Madame Noguchi of Tokyo, who is known by the art-name of "Shohin," which name she always signs to her pictures. Madame Kamimura, whose art-name is "Shoen," is noted for her success in portrait painting.

The Woman's Art School in Tokyo is a well-known institution in which most of the present-day artists have received instruction. Though the present time, because of so many material interests, can hardly be called an age of art, the number of women artists is steadily increasing. The greater domestic freedom which the Japanese women are slowly acquiring will, no doubt, cause many to follow art as a life work, who under the former conditions could not have thought of such a career.

LITERATURE: Hitherto, the world of literature for the Japanese woman, if not alto-

gether closed, was greatly limited. She has always been skilled in writing *hokku*, the seven-syllabled Japanese poems that are so much loved in Japan and so little understood by the outside world. The object in these short verses apparently is to have a beautiful thought that is almost bursting for expression, and to let the words give only half hidden hints of the deep emotion contained. The ancient history of literature contains some names of women who are still famous as writers. The best known of these is Lady Murasaki, who about a thousand years ago wrote the classic novel called *Genji Monogatari*, The Tale of Genji. This novel which is read as a classic in all high schools of to-day has recently been beautifully translated into English by Arthur Waley.

The present age in Japanese literature is surely a new age, but confusion seems to be its outstanding characteristic. Russia has had an immense influence on Japan's young men and young women. Tolstoi, Turguenev and Dostoevsky are still powerful; but since the Russian revolution, stacks of radical books have found their way into Japan and are making disciples there. The government is eternally

vigilant to keep this movement under control. The French novels of Zola and de Maupassant have also had many readers.

The number of novels and short stories that are appearing in Japanese is immensely large. These productions treat a very wide range of subjects, such as, naturalism, idealism, sensualism, melancholy, religion, socialism and radicalism. Many books on sex matters are also found on the shelves of the bookstores. These books, which were imported at first and then rewritten in Japanese, are semi-scientific in form, but often are read for sensual purposes. In some recent books free love is discussed about as freely as the law permits. Serials in the hundreds of magazines are very widely read, but many of these stories are not of a high type.

The part that women characters are playing in this sort of literature is perhaps less significant than might be expected. It must be remembered that the whole idea of courtship and love in the Western sense, is absent in Japanese literature. There is but little of the ennobling power of pure love to be found in these writings, because such a thing is not supposed

to exist in respectable society. In the honest opinion of the traditional Japanese, love and lust are one and the same thing.

There are in Japan over twenty monthly magazines for girls and women. Some of these periodicals have a very large circulation. The *Fujin Sekai*, *Woman's World*, is perhaps the leading one of these publications. Several of them are very conservative, others may be described as progressive, and still others are radical. Mrs. Motoko Hani of Tokyo is a woman of deep religious faith, who has at the same time a very practical turn of mind. She publishes a monthly magazine which has a large circulation and is wielding a great influence for good among the younger women of Japan. Her editorials are progressive and characterized by common sense. She knows both the weaknesses and the strong points of her fellow-women, and her pen is ever ready to endeavor to improve their conditions. In order to apply practically her ideas for the development of the young women, she has founded a girls' school near Tokyo. The name of the school is *Jiyu Gakuen* or *The School-garden of Freedom*.

Most of the women authors who are at all

popularly known have as the burden of their writings the desire to elevate woman from her suppression. But no one of them would argue that the mother's calling is an unworthy one. Mrs. Kikue Yamakawa says that the drudgery should be removed from mothers so that they might be able to do some social work outside of the home. These ideas are also expressed by some of the contemporary women poets. Mrs. D. Ito, whose *nom de plume* is *White Lotus*, has written a number of very beautiful poems on this theme. Madame Yukio Ozaki has translated some of them into English. Here is an example:

The law of this world that mortals share
Is hard to bear ;
Yet only in my dreams I dare pray
For my own way.

This little poem has been called the Japanese Woman's prayer.

Probably the best known woman writer now living is Mrs. Hiroshi Yosano. She is known as *Akiko*, and is unrivaled as a poetess. She is the wife of a university professor and the mother of twelve children, ten of whom are

living. She does not forget her home by any means, and yet does an immense amount of outside work. She represents the modern realistic school, and advocates the emancipation of Japanese women and the right of suffrage. She is a facile writer of magazine articles, but the one subject that she is always keeping to the fore is the social and political uplift of her fellow-women. Her poems, published in sixteen volumes, touch the deepest emotions of the Japanese heart. Here is an example of one entitled, "Hot and Cold Tears":

For my sake and for your sake, too,
For days of youth together spent
I shed hot tears of gladness
Also these cold tears of sadness.

MUSIC: The native Japanese music differs much more widely from that of the West than does the painting or the literature of these different parts of the world. It is not only that the Occident seems to like the major key and the Orient the minor key. The Japanese music includes sounds that to an Occidental are impossible and discordant, for the scale is by no

means the same as our own. The Japanese can strike notes that do not correspond to either full intervals or half intervals, but to some very odd fractions between these steps. Harmony hardly exists in Japanese music.

The principal musical instruments are the *kokyu*, a primitive three-stringed violin, which is played on the streets as the players walk along; the flute; the *shaku-hachi*, a kind of flute made of bamboo, one foot and eight inches long, and blown from the end of the stick; the *Satsuma-biwa*, a lute which is used to accompany the intoning of the exciting deeds of some hero; the *samisen*, a sort of three-stringed guitar invariably used by the *geisha*, and therefore so degraded that it is never used by respectable women; the *koto*, a kind of horizontal harp having thirteen strings. This instrument, when played, is laid on the floor, and the player squats in front of it and plays it, having ivory picks fitted to the thumb, index finger and middle finger of the right hand. The music of the *koto* is considered somewhat "high-brow," and resembles Western music a little more closely than that produced on any other of the Japanese instruments. The *samisen* and the *koto*

are played by women, and there are many who are highly skilled in this art.

Many efforts have been made on the part of Japanese musicians to adapt a new kind of music that will contain the best of the native music and also the best points of Western music. Whether such hybridization of music is possible or not, time will tell. Messrs. N. Motoori and M. Miyagi, composers, are taking a leading part in this movement. In the meantime, the Japanese people have taken to Occidental music with the greatest avidity. They do not like Jazz, but desire the very best classical music. Western music is now the music of Japan. Vocal music, the organ, the piano and the violin are the forms of music that are the most popular. The central government has established a fine conservatory in the city of Tokyo, and is doing excellent work there in training music teachers for the public high schools of the country.

The Japanese women do not have much volume to their voices, but those who are trained can render very acceptably compositions that are soft and of a warbling nature. As they have very quick and nimble hands and fingers,

it is not difficult for them to learn the mechanical part of piano playing or violin playing, but to bring out the proper expression of a musical production and put soul into what they play, is a great deal more of an undertaking.

It is not generally known that Western music has made remarkable progress in Japan during the last twenty-five years. Seven or eight magazines devoted entirely to Occidental music are published. That Tokyo is on the world's musical "map" is proven by the fact that in the Imperial Theater of that city a regular galaxy of the world's best musicians has performed during the last few years. Piatro, Elman, Kreisler, Zimbalist, Parlow, Sykora and Schumann-Heink are some of the artists who have been greeted by overflowing houses. One of these world renowned musicians, upon his return to America, said that he had found out, much to his surprise, that in Tokyo he could play anything that he could play in a Western music center and be sure of an appreciative audience. It was not necessary for him to make any musical concessions whatever, and he discovered that in Japan the audiences were as good as one would find anywhere.

The world of Western music is now fully open to the Japanese woman, and she has a good chance to rank, in due time, as high in music as do the women of other countries. Moreover, it is certain that by means of music the women of Nippon will be able to advance themselves very materially in their upward struggle towards a larger and freer life.

The opera has also made its appearance in Japan. The young men and the young women seem to be much attracted to grand opera. Madame Tamaki Miura stands supreme as Japan's prima donna. Her "*Madame Butterfly*" and other operas have achieved her a fame throughout the whole world. She studied under the care of the great Patti herself. But she is musically too far ahead of her audiences in Japan to be fully appreciated. Moreover, there seems to be among some of her own nationals a certain jealousy of her fame, while others seem to think that she lacks in the true spirit of Japan because she insists on going abroad, having separated herself from her husband for the sake of her musical career. Her triumphs lie in Europe and America, though she has sung to large audiences in her native land.

Madame Miura has surprised the world by showing the unlimited store of emotion that may be penned up in the bosom of a Japanese woman. She has thrown the native reserve to the winds and opened the springs of her soul. These feelings are there all the time, but are held in strictest leash under Japanese customs. The Japanese woman is probably the most feminine woman in the world, and the opera is one means of expressing this wealth of tenderest affection in her heart.

THE STAGE: As among all other peoples, the theater in Japan has for ages been a very popular institution, and the content of the drama and its object are also much the same as they are in other nations. The peculiar point of an old style Japanese play is that no real women appear on the stage. There are always women's parts in the play, but these are acted by men dressed up like women. In the great majority of plays, this is still the case. The former laws and customs made it impossible for women and men to appear together on the same stage. The main reason for this odd custom was that in the minds of the audience, the appearing together on the stage would have

been taken as direct evidence of immorality between the sexes, and also, as no real love affairs were countenanced by the people in general, the stage could not show anything of which the social conscience would not approve. The year 1925 formed the turning-point in this ancient custom. This could be seen by the fact that at the Imperial Theater, for the first time in its history, men and women appeared on the scene together both playing women's rôles. Women in Japan have had to fight their way upon the stage, where finally they have won a rightful place.

Miss Ritsuko Mori is considered the best actress in Japan. She has studied the drama and acting, both in Japan and in European countries. She finds the life of an actress very arduous, but she hopes that the day will soon come when women will be called on to portray on the stage the real life of women. There are several good writers of plays in Japan, but Miss Mori greatly desires that their number will soon be much increased. While many young women are willing to become actresses, most of them do not appreciate the difficulties that they would have to surmount. What is still

more of a hindrance is the fact that so few plays are written that have real women's parts to be acted by women. Many of the plays now used are adaptations of Western plays, Shakespeare having been frequently attempted. It is, however, evident that for the Japanese actress to succeed, she must have parts that bring out the real life of her sex in Japan, and later on, she might try her hand at foreign dramas.

THE MOVIE: The moving picture is popular in every country, but in Japan it is extraordinarily so. There are several reasons for this, one of which is that the movie supplies a modern means of securing an evening's entertainment. Japan is exceptionally poor in this respect. The movie from the very beginning had men and women as players and, of course, mixed audiences. This was necessarily the case as the first films were imported from America and Europe. The Japanese now make many films, some of which are good, though most audiences still prefer American films in spite of the nationalistic tendency visible everywhere in the land. In 1922, 7100 American films and 3200 Japanese ones were shown in Japan. Since

then, the number of films of both kinds has increased about fifty per cent yearly.

At the time when the American Exclusion Law went into effect, the movie theaters formed a boycott against American films. Only one theater in Tokyo did not join the boycott, continuing to present American films to well-filled houses. After three weeks, the boycott broke down, and all the theaters again showed American films. The audiences seem to like the "kick" that is found in the American films, and they also like the quickness of action characteristic of these films. But the true lover of America could ardently wish that the crude animalism might be eliminated from all such American films that contain it, especially if the pictures are to be exported to foreign countries.

The influence of the movie in Japan is by no means wholly good. But probably nothing else that takes place in Japan gives so much of an impetus to the breaking down of the traditional idea of womanhood as the moving pictures shown all over the Empire. In every film the heroine is the main part of the show. She is honored and loved and fought for to such an extent that the youths of Japan cannot help

changing their ideas about such things, either for good or for evil. At any rate, great confusion is being caused in Japan by this new intruder, the foreign movie.

Japan now has quite a long line of movie stars of her own. Mrs. Bunroku Tokunaga, known as Komako Sunata, is causing a great sensation in Japan. She was brought up in California, and knows more about American customs than about those of her own country. She and her husband are now living in Japan, and are producing many films for their own people. In one of the first films they produced, a Japanese wife was pulling a heavy cart on which were riding her husband and a *geisha* who was entertaining the man. The lesson that was intended was so clear that no one could miss the point, and the newspapers of the whole country enlarged upon it by giving prominent reviews of the film.

Katsudo-shashin, moving pictures, are surely making for more freedom of a certain kind among the younger Japanese women; but it is too early to say whether the evils that are caused by the unnatural bewilderment of it all will not perhaps outweigh the possible help they

might afford towards the sane emancipation of the women.

GEISHA: It is from an etymological standpoint only that the *geisha* can be treated under the heading of this chapter. The word *geisha* is composed of two Chinese characters—*gei* meaning art, and *sha* meaning a person. Literally, therefore, a *geisha* is an artist. There are 75,000 of these “artists” in Japan, on whom the men spend some 250,000,000 Yen a year. The *geisha* usually begins her career as a child, in one of the establishments that train girls for this vocation. The keeper of the establishment supplies the girl with food, clothing and lodging on the written promise of the girl that she will faithfully learn the *geisha's* art and allow the master to retain the greater part of the money which she will earn after completing the course. The training, which extends over many years, consists of dancing, singing, playing the *samisen*, serving tea and liquor, and the art of making herself charmingly agreeable to men. Her singing, to which she always plays the *samisen*, is exceedingly shrill and thoroughly unmusical to the European, but her dancing is a very graceful form of attitudiniz-

ing. For the privilege of plying her musical (?) trade, she must pay a tax of four yen a year. That she is unusually successful in what is hers to accomplish, there is not the least room for doubt.

The *geisha* girls supply entertainment on a great variety of occasions. Sometimes they perform before mixed audiences, but far more frequently at tea-houses, dinner-parties and other gatherings where men only are present. It is in the *geisha* that the respectable women of Japan have their arch enemies and worst rivals; for these professional entertainers have thus far succeeded in keeping the women of good repute out of men's society.

To many of the transient tourists that visit Japan annually, the *geisha* frequently is the only woman in evidence. She has the boldness required to meet foreigners, and with her gaudy clothes, over-painted face and subtle graces, seems especially attractive to many of the newcomers. The post-cards, fans and other cheap art products which the tourist buys and takes home usually have pictures of *geisha* on them.

There is so close a relation between the *geisha*

and the prostitute that a large part of society has given up trying to draw any fine distinction between them. Thus the respectable woman who greatly desires to purify and elevate society, and who dreams pleasant dreams of a free, respected and influential new womanhood of Japan, finds in the *geisha* an obstacle almost insurmountable.

From the facts submitted in this chapter it is obvious that the sphere of the fine arts in Japan is more nearly equally open to men and women than is the case in many other fields of human endeavor. If the women actually produce art of any kind that is of real worth, society will gladly recognize it, regardless of the sex of the producer. The success or failure in art is to-day purely a matter of ability.

CHAPTER VII

WOMAN AND JAPANESE LAW

THE family system, based on ancestor-worship, furnishes the foundation of Japanese law. There is a great resemblance between this system and the ancient Roman Law, and it is this similarity that made it so easy for Japan to adopt as the basis of her modern laws France's Napoleonic Code, which is fundamentally Roman. In order to understand the family system of Japan it is necessary to bear in mind that the word for family has an immensely wide meaning. The ancestor-worshipping family, in its broadest sense, is really a clan, which ideally consists of *all* the descendants of its patriarchal founder of the line—those now living, those to be born in the future, and the shades of those who have gone to the world beyond. As it was early discovered that such an unlimited family organization could not be effectively controlled, a plan to sim-

plify and reduce the family relationship was devised. According to this method, each family is required to appoint one of its members—usually the oldest son—to be *head of the house*. Upon this head of the *original* or *principal house* devolves the grave responsibility of caring for the family and its property and of attending faithfully to the worship of the ancestors. Younger sons who are not heads of houses, if they choose to do so, are free to establish new families, which, technically, have no relation with their ancestors. The founders of such new houses really become the originators of new lines of ancestry.

Thus the Japanese family is a small monarchy whose authority is almost absolute. The rule is held by the *koshu*, or head of the house. All the members of the family under him must obey him, but they have the right to look to him for sustenance, education, and as many of the comforts of life as the economic condition of the family permits.

It is seen from this fact that in a certain sense there are no individual men in Japan and still less any individual women. Individuals are merely units of the system, and the sys-

tem, being its own end and object, requires all individuals to make due sacrifices for it. This sounds much like socialism, and it is a kind of socialism, not fraternal but paternal. Whatever the political philosophy may be, it can be truthfully said that Japan is efficiently governed and that generally her laws are well obeyed.

The active principles of Japanese law have to do mainly with the man, the husband, the head of the family, and property. To uphold these principles the women have patiently and faithfully paid an overflowing share of sacrifice. According to Katayama, in his "*Woman's Law*," the troubles and disabilities of women increase in the order as they are unmarried women, or mothers, or wives. The woman before her marriage has more nearly the same legal status as her brother than is the case after her marriage. It is, therefore, much more than a joke to say that matrimony brings to the Japanese bride all kinds of troubles—domestic, social and legal.

The family is the legal unit, and as pointed out before, marriage means to the woman a legal transfer of herself from her father's

family to that of her husband's family. This transfer is called in legal terms "*changing the koseki*." In this word, *ko* means house, and *seki* means census register. Legal marriage does not consist of any ceremony, but only in the erasure of the woman's name from her original family register and the adding it to the family register of her husband.

The legal marriage engagement is carried out entirely by the heads of the two families concerned. The law does not require that the prospective bride should be consulted, nor does it recognize love as a reason for marriage. The marriageable age for the two sexes is legally fixed at seventeen for men and fifteen for women, and the legal majority for both men and women is twenty; but in order to be legally married without the consent of the parents, the man must be at least thirty and the woman, twenty-five years of age. It is always required that the wife be the one to change her registration, except in cases of adoption.

The rather quaint custom of adopting a husband, it will be remembered, is practised when a family has no son to become the heir and the agent for providing worshipers of the family

ancestors. Such an adopted husband or son is called in Japanese, *yoshi*, foster-son. This son cuts off all legal relations with his own family and takes the family name of his wife. The couple married in this way is always expected to live in the house of the bride's family and, of course, children born to such a union belong to the wife's family. Adoption has now become quite unpopular, and unless the woman has an especially attractive bank account, the family will often look in vain for suitable candidates. The reason for this hesitancy is the fact that the adopted husband must submit to woman's government, which always seems humiliating to the mere man.

Monogamy is the legal form of the family in Japan, and bigamy is, before the law, impossible. Yet, a man may with impunity have concubines if they are unreported and unrecognized. Among the younger men this unworthy custom is fast dying out. Society in general frowns on this ancient practise which has made the lot of many a legal wife especially intolerable.

There are two kinds of illegitimacy in Japan. The one is the ordinary kind; namely, children

born out of wedlock. The other kind is by far the more numerous, and has its origin in the peculiar marriage laws of the country. It has been said that a union is legalized if and when the *koseki* of the wife is transferred to that of the husband's family. This may be done immediately upon marriage, or any time thereafter, or never. Children born to an unregistered union are illegitimate, but become legitimate upon the changing of the *koseki* on the part of the mother. Usually when such unregistered unions are contracted a social marriage ceremony is observed, and the ordinary people do not consider these couples as living together illegally. The law also recognizes a *yobi no jidai*, which means a preparatory or trial marriage. The woman is independent during this stage of marriage and she or the man can dissolve this arrangement at any time, though the consent of the other party is usually sought.

The reasons for not changing the *koseki* of the wife are numerous and have been classified by Japanese writers as follows: (1) Mere indifference. It is too much trouble to report to the authorities. "Many others do not report, why should I?", thinks the person in question.

(2) The man puts the matter off in order to hold the whip over the woman. He also wants to see whether children will be born or not. If none are born, the matter of separation is very simple. There are very many separations of this nature. (3) When the woman is the head of the house. This will happen when a family has no sons. In such a case, the oldest daughter, because she is the head of the house, ought to have procured an adopted husband, but this sometimes is not feasible. If such a woman should form a union with a man who refuses to be adopted, the union cannot be reported to the authorities, as the law does not allow the woman to resign as head of her family. (4) The nobility and the soldiers must have the consent of their superiors to get married. There are many cases where the securing of such consent would be awkward and difficult, and so no report is made to the authorities.

It is easily seen that the wife in all of these cases is largely without redress. There are other situations, however, in which there is still greater discrimination against the wife. The real wife must treat the child of her husband's concubine as her own child if the hus-

band recognizes the child and has it made legitimate. In case the wife should be the mother of a child born out of wedlock, the child can never be made legitimate. The matter of recognizing an illegitimate child is the absolute privilege of the husband. This discrimination against the woman under such circumstances is not limited to the law. Society in general also treats the illegitimate girl harsher than it does the boy, especially when it comes to marriage.

In case of adultery, the woman only is punished, as a rule. The exact provision of the law is that adultery in a wife is full cause for divorce on the part of the husband, but when a husband is guilty of adultery his wife cannot bring suit for divorce. Only the husband of the adulteress can bring action for divorce against the adulterer. The punishment for adultery on the part of a woman is two years of imprisonment. There is no punishment for the man. A private prostitute may be imprisoned for thirty days. The guilty man in such a case is not punished, but the person providing the place for private prostitution is punished.

The civil and the criminal codes, in many of their provisions are avowedly discriminatory

against the wife. The husband has the absolute right to decide on the place of residence, only no wife is obliged to live in the same house with a concubine of the husband.

A woman, upon marriage, becomes incompetent for many legal acts. She must secure the permission of her husband to receive back the principal and interest of her own money on investment; to borrow money, or indorse a note; to buy or sell real estate or important personal property; to bring up a case in court; to give gifts, or to solve some disagreement between other people, or to promise to act as go-between for settling such disagreements; to appoint some one as heir, or to discontinue a person thus appointed; to accept gifts, willed property or to refuse such; to bind herself out to other people.

In Japan the subject of divorce is a very vague one, chiefly because of the many trial marriages and unreported unions that exist. Such unions are outside the scope of the law, and can readily be dissolved at will. For securing a divorce from a registered marriage, there are two recognized methods. The one is by mutual consent, if the man or woman both

are not less than twenty-five years old. This does not give absolute freedom in all respects. The other method is by court decisions. Either one or both of the parties concerned can bring proceedings for divorce. According to one legal authority, a third party can under certain conditions secure the divorce of a married couple even if the two persons directly concerned do not desire it.

The principal causes for divorce as recognized by the law courts are: sexual immorality on the part of the wife—there is no reciprocal right for the wife; when either one is guilty of crimes that are punishable by three years or more of imprisonment, such as forgery, bribery, fraudulence, larceny, burglary and false pretense; in cases of cruelty and insult on the part of either one; in case one rejects the other from malice; in case one is insulted by the near relatives of the other.

The divorced woman returns to her original family, but she is still the legal mother of her children, though the husband has full charge of them and they belong to his family. The legally divorced woman can marry again when six months have elapsed after the granting of

the divorce. As to the relative prevalence of divorce, it is probable that Japan still holds the unenviable record among civilized nations of having the greatest number, but the United States is a very close second in this notorious competition.

The status of a Japanese widow is very carefully defined in the legal code. The widow remains a full member of the husband's family, and, unless the head of the family gives his consent, she cannot marry again. Even if such consent can be obtained, the law does not allow her to marry again until at least six months after the death of her former husband. If the widow should happen to be the heir, she cannot marry again unless another heir is appointed to whom all the property rights will go. The widow becomes heir when her deceased husband has no brothers or sisters. If the father-in-law is still living, she will come under his direct and entire control. Whenever the husband's brother or sister becomes the head of the family, the lot of the widow is usually an exceedingly unenviable one.

There is a great deal of discussion going on at present as to what is proper for a widow

to do in the matter of a second marriage. There are still those who hold to the ancient belief that it is purely a case of faithlessness towards her deceased husband for a widow ever to marry again. But the newer ideas on these questions have greatly reduced this class of social purists. Many people now advocate that a widow ought to be entirely free to marry again. These claim that if she has children, the laws should be very sympathetic to her so that she might be able to bring up the children successfully; for in these well-reared children she would bring honor to her deceased husband much more really than by vowing to spend a widow's life to the end of her days.

The peculiar law of primogeniture of Japan often makes the life of a widow very wretched. She can under certain conditions become the successor to the property of the family, but this is avoided as much as possible. Even if the title of the property is in her name, she is merely holding it in trust. She cannot use any of it though the amount of it increase under her management, for it must all go to the children.

There are numberless other points in the law

of the land that give to women rights that are inferior to those granted to men. She does not have the right of suffrage; she cannot become an official; she cannot become a lawyer; her rights as an industrial worker are but meagerly recognized in the Factory Law; in the educational world, whether as student or teacher, she does not at all have the same advantages that a man has; she is less free than a man to go about.

As this is not a comparative study of women's condition in the different countries of the world, it is hardly necessary to recall the fact that Japan is by no means the only country that discriminates against women. Every country in the world does the same. It is only a matter of degree. This, however, does not establish the righteousness of it anywhere, but makes the unfairness appear the greater.

As revising the legal codes of any country is necessarily a slow process, the women of Japan who are desiring a change in this matter will very probably discover that progress in this will be much slower than is agreeable to them.

CHAPTER VIII

WOMAN AND POLITICS

TO many people it will sound like mere pleasantry to talk about Japanese women securing the franchise and entering the world of politics, because hitherto only a very small percentage of even the men have had the right to vote. This greatly limited male franchise was determined by the amount of tax a man paid annually. But early in the year 1925 the new Manhood Suffrage Bill was passed by the Diet and became the law of the land. This bill gives the franchise to almost all men who are thirty years old or older, thus adding about nine millions of voters to the previous list of one million. One reason for setting the age limit so high was, according to the newspapers, to keep the students away from the polls. Thinking that perhaps there might be radicalism in the minds of some of the younger men, the Japanese authorities considered it wisest

to make it impossible for any such extremists to tamper with the things of the government.

In such an atmosphere a woman's rights movement might be expected to get short shrift, but the leaders among the women worked especially hard at the time the men's suffrage bill was drawn up and discussed, because they hoped against hope that they might be included in this new law. The opposition had an easy time of it, because the objectors are not limited to the great majority of the men but include at least one-half of the women themselves. But in spite of the relative fewness of their voices, the women who advocated this measure are very zealous, and feel sure that their cause is righteous and that what they are working for will as surely come to pass in Japan as has been the case in many other civilized countries.

There is in existence a very active organization called, "*Women's Suffrage Federation.*" This body was instrumental in actually bringing a suffragette bill before the Diet. Though the bill was promptly voted down, it is needless to say that it will not stay down. In 1924, a Woman's Day was established which is to be observed annually and is to serve as one means

of keeping the fires of hope burning. These women feel that they are being treated unfairly and they will not desist seeking justice.

The Diet of 1921-1922 repealed the regulation which forbade women to attend political meetings. This was regarded by many as a long step towards the political emancipation of the Japanese women. The police regulations have also been so revised that women can now organize political clubs and hold meetings of a political nature. When these regulations were changed, both the Tokyo Asahi and the Osaka Asahi—probably the best daily newspapers in Japan—published editorials in which this movement was highly commended. They urged the public to take a sympathetic attitude towards women's emancipation, and encouraged the women to use their newly acquired rights to the fullest extent. These dailies pointed out that in most civilized countries women are granted the franchise, and that as it is a foregone conclusion that Japanese women will also be vested with these rights sooner or later, it would be advantageous to the State and the community to assist the women in gaining political training and culture; but that the women on their

part must make a firm resolution to contribute something to the State and the community by wisely exercising these new rights.

The editors of the Japanese newspapers have their eyes wide open to see how woman's suffrage is working in Europe and America. In these countries experience indicates that the best achievements of the women are especially noticeable in local and municipal government. Questions of education, proper care of poor children, playgrounds for children, the milk supply and sanitary measures, are the lines along which woman's suffrage has been a decided help. This part of government is merely the extension of the home to community problems in these countries, and as the Japanese woman in the home—though very quiet about it—is at least a little power behind the throne, it is maintained that a similar extension of the home in Japan would also produce salutary effects.

Mrs. Shinko Kodama, who was one of the first directors of the Women's Suffrage Federation, has views on this general subject which may be taken as fairly representative of all the members of the organization. To a newspaper

reporter's questions, "Should Japanese women have the right to vote?" and, "Could they utilize the franchise safely and properly?" Mrs. Kodama replied: "It is hard to say whether all Japanese women desire to have the suffrage, but I am confident that the day has arrived when a campaign should be started to prepare Japanese women for the time, which is bound to come soon, when they will demand the vote and probably get it. I believe that woman suffrage is the shortest cut to rectify the injustices that women are subjected to, and for redressing their grievances. We must have a hand in making the laws; we will see that they are framed in such a spirit that they will not favor either sex. This is the reason why the Women's Federation is keen about securing suffrage, in spite of the contention that there is plenty of useful social work to be done without having to meddle with politics." Mrs. Kodama wisely adds: "Of course, everything will have to be done gradually; and the old order will have to give way to the new. The campaign for woman suffrage is a colossal task, and coöperation and con-

certed action are absolutely necessary if success is to be achieved."

From this platform of principles it can be seen that the leaders of this movement are not erratic or fanatic in the methods which they are using to further their cause. They realize fully that if the great majority of the women really desired the suffrage they would soon have it. One of the first duties to be attended to was to unify and bring into hearty coöperation the various women's organizations which had the franchise as one of their aims, even though they may have stressed other things as more urgent. Such societies are the Peace Society, the W.C.T.U., the New Women's Society, the Suffrage Federation and others.

According to government statistics, the total number of local women's organizations of all kinds in the country is about 65,000. By no means do all of these have the franchise as one of their objectives; but it is safe to say that very many of them do wish woman to be enfranchised. The Suffrage Federation now has over 2,000 members. Whatever progress in the suffrage movement is now being made, is largely confined to the matter of lining up

all the women who aspire to the right of having the vote. From the headquarters in Tokyo, the Empire is strewn with various pamphlets by which it is hoped to interest the women in the general movement and also to educate them in what suffrage would mean to them. At the same time, this organization has been sending some of its members to Europe and America to study at first hand the workings of women's suffrage in these countries, and to learn from the leaders there, all they can of what might be helpful to them in the feminist movement in Japan. There is nothing sophomoric about their work, for they go at it like seasoned politicians.

Doubtlessly, the greatest hope for success in this undertaking lies in the young women of the industrial and the commercial groups and in those who have received an education about equal to that which young men receive. Such young women will naturally ask themselves why it is that all the men can vote while they have no right to do so. Questionnaires on woman's suffrage have been used as a means of finding out what the women themselves want in the matter. In a recent effort of this kind,

595 answers were received from women of various parts of Japan. Of these, 281 favored woman's suffrage, 275 were against it, and 39 did not state any preference. Not much can be deduced from this endeavor to feel the social pulse. One of the 281 who replied was Mrs. Chiyo Kitabata. She claimed in no uncertain tones that just because women had so much to do with the home and the bringing up of children, they would be the more serious in deciding matters which had to do with all the homes and all the children of the nation.

The family system of Japan is, of course, the source of the strongest opposition to woman's suffrage. The conservative portion of Japanese society is very powerful and sincerely fears that such a revolutionary measure would totally disrupt everything that is of any value in Japan. What seems to be unbearably disagreeable to the average Japanese husband is the fact that under woman's suffrage the wife could have political views different from his own, and could really nullify his vote if she desired to do so. This inherently Japanese opposition to woman's suffrage is supplemented by the more universal objections which have

been raised against it in the different countries that now have it or are considering it. Truly, the obstacles that must be overcome before this dream can become a reality in Japan are as numerous as they are immense.

Over against this discouraging situation may well be placed the almost endless patience of the Japanese woman and her power to suffer. These are the virtues that she has been compelled to learn so thoroughly in the hard school of life, and it is not improbable that in these bitter experiences of days gone by she will unearth the power that will finally enable her to reach the goal which the leaders have set up for her in the matter of suffrage.

The women of Japan will be much aided in their upward struggle by a peculiar, half-expressed democracy that is deeply ingrained in the very soul of Japanese society. Japan is a true monarchy, but the people as people are never lightly treated by those in authority. There is a real love between the governing and the governed. While this love would seem to be largely of the kind that exists between inferiors and superiors, it is true too that the spirit of love between equals has also always

existed. Japanese scholars of political science insist on claiming that democracy is a real part of the true spirit of Japan. This democratic feeling has a tendency to disregard sex when it puts a valuation on an individual.

Before the universal man-suffrage bill became a law, when tax on property and income was the basis on which suffrage was granted, there were many men who advocated that those women who paid the required amount of tax ought to have the franchise. Even one of the political parties mildly urged that those women who are the heads of houses should have the right to vote. As head of a house, a woman is not merely an individual woman, but is the representative of the whole family group, and the tax which she pays is that levied on the property of the family.

An interesting custom among some of the men politicians of Japan is that they often have their wives accompany them on electioneering trips. These wives distribute letters and advertisements which modestly tell of the ability and patriotism of the husbands. Smiles and the interchange of beautiful compliments on the

part of the wives, often seem to go far towards the success of the husbands in the election.

The strong leaders of the feminist movement insistently declare that while women's first sphere is in the home, their activity must not be limited to the home. They put this desire for outside activity squarely on patriotic grounds. They claim that Japan will be better governed, better educated, better in morals, and more highly civilized when the women help the men in furthering these great causes than when the men try to do this service single-handed.

If the women leaders can really show their people that woman's suffrage will mean a greater and better Japan, they will surely win the day. Nothing will prod the Japanese people into action so quickly as the feeling that they are lacking in any of the essentials of civilization. They will not brook any invidious comparisons. They will investigate whether there is any ground for the charges made against them, and if they find a weakness actually existing, they will instantly make the required changes, if they possibly can do so.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt recently said, "I predict that all women of the civilized world

will be enfranchised within twenty-five years." Basing one's judgment on the progress Japanese women have made in the past twenty-five years, it is very easily within the bounds of possibility that they will have the vote by 1950.

CHAPTER IX

THE JAPANESE WOMAN IN SOCIETY

IF society is taken to mean the relationship of men and women who hold the same station in life and who associate together for mutual benefit and fellowship, then there is, at present, no society for Japanese women. The young men and the young women of Japan do not "go out into society" in the sense that this term is understood in the Occident. Doing so would surely be considered by the generality of people as an outrage if not a misdemeanor. As previously stated, all the ideas of love and courtship among unmarried men and women, debutant and debutante, "sheik and flapper," and all the activities that are included in our terms "social world," simply are not supposed to exist in Japan.

To make a match for life is not the happy duty of those who are to be mated, but is the sacred business of the families of the young

people who are considered by their elders as marriageable. If all the attraction and the pleasure that result from the association of the two sexes were eliminated from our "society," the residue would surely be an intolerably dull affair. This is just about the situation that one finds in the "society" of Japan. Terms like "court" and "woo" imply that the one who is courted or wooed, namely the woman, occupies a position of highest respect in reference to the other sex; but in Japan woman as a personality does not yet hold such a position.

Where the woman of the West is strongest—in society—the Japanese woman is weakest. It is not improbable even that the Japanese woman will get political rights before she will receive social prerogatives, thus reversing the order of the development of her Occidental sisters. Quite frequently one notices that the Japanese wife is not yet invited to be a real companion to her husband and hardly ever is she his confidante.

On the other hand, it would be a gross misjudgment to think that all Japanese men are tyrannical towards their wives. The great majority of them are very kind and even loving

to their wives, and most of the families live happily together. But one reason for such peaceful relations may certainly be found in the fact that most wives know how to stay in the places assigned to them. The question of equality hardly ever becomes a question. It is taken for granted by both that the man is master, and that the woman is to be obedient and tractable. It must, however, not be forgotten that the man is almost as much a slave to the family system as the woman, and that he is not free to change at will the basic system of the national life. The man is but slowly becoming an individual himself, and therefore is not yet in a position to extend full emancipation to the woman. It is obvious that as long as this is the condition, real respect for woman, based on the worth of her own personality, is an impossibility. That this is so, evinces itself in many ways, some of which are quite subtle while others are very glaring.

The Japanese language lends itself well to the expression of the superiority of the male sex. There are in Japanese many words for the personal pronoun *you*. The polite word for it is *anata*, and a much less polite word is *omae*.

In conversation between husband and wife, the wife always addresses her husband as *anata*, but the husband calls his wife *omae*. If a husband should call his wife *anata*, his friends would surely consider him as badly henpecked. This is only one of the numerous expressions that distinctly bring out discrimination against women.

It is the rule for the wife not to eat with the husband if he has a guest. If the wife appears at all during the meal, it is as head of the servants, so that the proper respect due the guest and her husband, may be shown them by her.

Much has been written, often in a rather unfriendly spirit, about the public bath-houses of Japan and their lack of properly separated bathing facilities for women. That the evils of this condition have been greatly overstated in the West is certainly true, but it is also true that if the women were more highly regarded by the men, a wholesale modification of the bath-houses would instantly be witnessed.

It must not be assumed from what has been stated about the Japanese social world that the life of women is entirely void of recreation and pleasure. There are numerous semi-social

functions which are open to them. Each temple has its annual festival, which is made the occasion for an outing for the whole family, resembling in some respects our country Sunday School picnic of days gone by. The women and children of the neighborhood thoroughly enjoy themselves on an occasion like this. The theater also is much enjoyed by the whole family. For hours they sit on the floor in the square boxes to watch the show. Very often lunch is taken along to the theater, as the old style plays require the greater part of a day for their performance.

The *Hanami*, viewing the cherry-blossoms, is undoubtedly the most social outdoor gathering that comes into the life of Japanese women. Men and women, old and young, in large numbers visit the parks of cherry-trees when the beautiful pink blossoms are at their best. The sight is one that cannot be forgotten, and even the prosaic persons burst out into poetry as they look through the branches of the trees now blushing in pinkest perfection. The men in going to the park invariably carry their *saké*, rice-wine, in bottle-shaped calabashes; but they see to it that the contents of these gourds are soon

sent down their throats. This usually adds undue hilarity to the enjoyment of the simple beauty of the blossoms. The young men and the young women are also in evidence in the cherry-park, and if you watch carefully, you will notice that shy, very shy glances are interchanged between some of them. No conversation takes place between them, no games are played and the girls are not seen home, but, in their own estimation, their hikes to the cherry-blossoms are always immensely successful.

The various games and athletic contests of the schools and colleges are also attended by men and women. The many welcome-receptions tendered to noted visitors when they come to a city, are open to women provided there is a woman among the guests of honor. Most of the educational meetings are also attended by both sexes. These are more recent ways of spending an interesting afternoon or evening.

In Christian circles there is more mingling of the sexes than among other people, though in church the men and the women sit apart. But church work and Sunday School work and the various other gatherings bring men and women into closer social contact than is the

case in the non-Christian groups. In the Church of Christ in Japan, women do not only have the right to become elders, but many women actually now hold this church office. Dr. Y. Chiba, a prominent Christian educator, in a recent magazine article says: "It seems some theological schools with a large enrollment of male students are permitting women to attend—in some cases merely as listeners. Even in as important a school as Aoyama Methodist Theological Seminary the experiment is being tried. The plan economizes teachers and equipment and gives opportunity for developing common sense in the ordinary relations of life. . . . Social advancement is the order of the day and women are daily becoming more respected and considered. Even in the secular colleges the doors are being opened to them, so surely we Christians should take this step in advance without hesitation." Greater freedom of this nature was formerly a fruitful source of adverse criticism of the Christians on the part of those who were opposed to this religion.

Though there are these opportunities when a Japanese woman can leave the drudgery of the

home and find some recreation outside, the fact still remains that the young woman does not go out into society where she would associate with the opposite sex, for the sake of such association. The poverty of the Japanese woman in social matters is truly surprising. She simply does not know how to act in mixed company. The young girl, who ordinarily is very correct in demeanor and most polite, becomes awkward, silly and totally ill at ease in the presence of unmarried men. She will hang down her head and will not answer if spoken to by a man. But the young man does not know a whit better than the woman how to act naturally at social functions where persons of both sexes are present.

A few years ago in the larger cities quite a craze for dancing sprang up. The conservatives were horror-stricken when they saw some of their young women fox-trotting around with men. A sort of miniature insurrection broke out against these performances considered so outrageous. On several occasions ruffians with drawn swords entered the hotels where dancing was going on and forced the Japanese women to leave the place. Soon afterwards po-

lice regulations were drawn up which forbid any dancing after ten o'clock at night.

The chief reason why Japan makes such strenuous efforts to keep the two sexes apart seems to be because it is believed that this is the best way to keep the sex complex strong in men and women. Great fear of what has been called by the Japanese the neutralization of the sex instinct, is expressed by many intelligent people. A well-known woman recently said: "Neutral women who are neither one thing or the other, are not genuine representatives of the female sex." Race suicide—apparently not much of a menace as yet—must be prevented at any cost.

But there is another reason, much better understood than the last one mentioned, why the older people are so reluctant to give young women more social rights. It is because they fear that the women are not at all prepared for a sudden transformation in social customs and that disaster would certainly be the result if an abrupt change should take place. Such apprehension on the part of the elders is not without foundation; for the Japanese young women do not as yet know how to use social

liberty. They have never been given a chance to learn how to protect themselves, how to express themselves, or how to be themselves when in mixed company. They would not have the moral training nor a social sanction strong enough to fortify themselves against unprincipled men. It would be highly criminal if unprepared and unprotected, without either rudder or compass to guide them, they should abruptly be thrown out upon a treacherous, uncharted social ocean.

There are, however, wise and experienced women of Japan, who, while they do not underestimate the dangers that would lie ahead of a change in these customs, have profound sympathy with the younger women in their desire for more freedom in domestic matters and social relationships. To these it is clear that unless and until the women of Japan can be really controlling social factors, their lives will be cramped and shackled. These conservatively progressive leaders are convinced that *now* is the proper time to begin preparing the young women for the larger and freer life and that procrastination in this matter will be suicidal

to the cause of women and detrimental to the best interest of the nation.

How then can the Japanese women create a social world and lead it in a dignified way? On the positive side, it is evident from their past experience that they will need the help of the school, the workshop, and a living, hope-inspiring religion. Negatively, in order to make a secure place for themselves in society, they will need to make still more strenuous efforts to drive out the *geisha* and the licensed prostitute; for these are menacing lions in the way of true progress. How strong these anti-social forces are can best be learned from the actual conditions. In 1924 there were 52,256 licensed prostitutes in Japan and 48,291 bar-maids, who may properly be regarded as the same as prostitutes. To these numbers must be added that of the private prostitutes—and these are simply countless. In March, 1925, a bill which aimed at the abolition of the licensed brothels was presented to the Diet and was defeated by a vote of 157 to 53. The opposition to this business is, however, much stronger than this vote would indicate. Petitions signed by 140,000 people to prevent the brothels of Tokyo from

being rebuilt after the earthquake, were sent to the Diet. An "Anti-Vice Day" was observed at that time. The whole Christian community headed by the Salvation Army and the W.C.T.U. and large numbers of non-Christian people are up in arms against what they denounce as a national disgrace. The Awakened Woman's Society has as one of its chief aims the abolition of this evil, and also many of the better newspapers have taken up the cudgels against the "slavery of the 20th century."

There is hope that the government of Japan, a member of the League of Nations, will come up to the standard set by the League on this question. According to the League's treaty on this subject, all traffic in women under 21 years of age shall be totally abolished. Japan, it seems, is willing to accept this treaty with the reservation that the age limit of girls shall be eighteen years, and that this new law shall not apply to any territory other than Japan proper.

The *geisha* will most likely be fought with one of her own weapons, namely music. In the extraordinary love for the world's best music, which is almost universally evidenced by young

Japan, is contained a dormant force which may become the death-blow to the *geisha*. In this musical war, the leaders pin their faith mostly on the piano and the human voice. It is the hope of these optimists to seize on the present unusual demand for the classical music of the Occident and make it count for a new social order in Japan. It is the best young men and the best young women, who are learning to play the piano and to sing. Economically speaking, these young people come from the upper half of society, as it would be beyond the financial ability of representatives of the lower half of society to buy pianos. As the young men are also very fond of Western music, there is no doubt that they will prefer to the discordant thrumming of a *geisha* on a *samisen*, the beautiful strains of Beethoven or Chopin, played on a piano by a pure young girl. Moreover, the piano will always remain in the home of the young woman, because it is too heavy to be moved at will. The friends of the young musician—girls and boys—if they wish to enjoy the music, will have to come to her home. In due time there will be young men who come to hear the music and also to associate with the

girl making the music. In this will be, it is hoped, the beginning of a new social world for the young Japanese people.

The courtship—if it may be called such—that would have its origin in this way, would contain the best element of the Japanese custom as well as the best feature of the Western way of becoming engaged to be married. The courting would be done in the home with the full knowledge of the family, and at the same time the young people concerned would themselves decide whether they should be married or not. This is not a revolutionary method of procedure, nor is it merely a thing of the imagination. It is now being put to practice in not a few cases, and it promises to become far more general as the taste for music and the ability to produce it increase. Thus, it is hoped, the fountain of social intercourse which for ages has been sealed to Japan's fair sex, will in this way become a source of genuine refreshment to the young of both sexes, and a great good to the nation.

CHAPTER X

ASPIRATIONS AND TRAGICAL CONSEQUENCES

THAT gains and pains go hand in hand is certainly as true in Japan's woman movement as it ever has been anywhere else in a great struggle towards the light. And these pains are not all caused by the effective blows of the reactionaries and the irreconcilables; for the reformers in Japan are not all of the same mind as to the objective, the method, and the means that are to figure in their own movement. These self-appointed doctors of society disagree to some extent both as to the diagnosis of the trouble and as to the proper therapeutic treatment of it. It is this condition of things that is partially responsible for the slowness of the progress and the severity of the attendant heartaches.

As has been seen, the leaders in this movement, in a general way, desire that the members of their sex should have more education,

more domestic freedom, greater economic independence, more legal and political rights, and be a more dominant factor in society. This program is so immense that the whole of it cannot possibly be continually kept before the mind of even the keenest reformer. It is difficult, therefore, for the leaders to present a clear-cut platform to their perplexed followers. But what at least a respectable proportion of the reformers desire may be learned from the large number of answers to a questionnaire which asked: "What do women feel most keenly as necessary?" The things felt necessary were found to be very many indeed, but the six regarded as needful by the largest number of advocates were: (1) Society should know the real condition of the working woman; (2) the architecture of the Japanese house ought to be changed that a servantless life could be lived; (3) women should have the same educational advantages, the same legal rights, and the same pay for the same work as the men; (4) the reformation of customs, especially those that are largely formal and have no positive value, is needed; (5) the removal from the men's minds of the idea that men are lords, and women

slaves, is urgently necessary; (6) women need freedom.

In reading these answers, one gets the impression that many of those who expressed themselves in this way must belong to the industrial classes, and do not represent Japanese womanhood as a whole. It is not strange at all that the industries as now conducted should produce highly dissatisfied women workers. What they thought would be a paradise of freedom is, in some cases at least, turning out to be a Juggernaut crushing the life-blood out of them. Even in the factories where good working conditions prevail, a restlessness exists among some of the employees, because they have had a taste of freedom and now desire to have more of it and to have it permanently. Such hoped-for changes, however, do not materialize as speedily as this dissatisfied and often ill-advised part of society demands, and great unhappiness is the natural result. Some mothers who are longing for relief from a part of the drudgery of house-work have pointedly observed that in Japan all kinds of machinery are introduced to secure efficiency in industry and that the women of the land help to run these

machines, but that no thought whatever is given to the securing of labor-saving devices to relieve the wife's burdens in the home.

The *Yomiuri*, a Tokyo daily newspaper, has recently expressed in the strongest language the belief that many of the suicides among married women were caused by the women's skepticism about chastity. This doubt the paper based on the inequality of the law and social customs as regards marital faithfulness. Such women see that the husband can commit all sorts of immoral acts without fear of falling into the clutches of the law; but that the least deviation from the path of virtue on the part of the wives will at once expose them to legal punishment and to the harshest public criticism. They resent this evident unfairness, and this feeling of resentment has been much strengthened by the hope for better things which the newer ideas of life are tantalizingly dangling before these women's eyes. These deluded aspirants to justice cannot bear up under the scathing censure of the public, and so they choose death at their own hands as a final resort. They at first were merely demanding the punishment by law of

their husbands' misconduct, but their own suicide was the end of the endeavor.

There are also among the women of Japan a few socialists or communists of the reddest type. These demand not only equal rights with the men in all respects, but they speak of the emancipation of the sex relationship. They insist that all people, rich or poor, have a right to be married if they so desire and that the state or the community ought to take care of all the children that are born in the country. This group is altogether unJapanese in spirit and is not large enough to cause much of a stir. But the need seems to be felt at present by Japan for a reactionary movement away from the disturbing and disrupting influences that have come from abroad, and towards a return to the traditionally nationalistic spirit. (It may be well to remember at this point that in the matter of emphasizing nationalism, Japan just now has the whole world as company.)

Contrary to what most people might imagine, the subject of birth-control is studied in Japan with interest. Among its prominent advocates are Baroness Ishimoto and a few university professors. A few years ago Mrs. Sanger vis-

ited Japan, and in a quiet way presented her ideas on this subject. Those Japanese who support this doctrine are, as a rule, peace-loving, patriotic people. Indeed, patriotism is the principle upon which this movement is based. The claim is made by the supporters that this idea will solve the great problem of population, and thus make directly for the peace of the world. It is asserted if the number of children in a family were smaller, they could be brought up much better, both in a physical and a moral sense, and that a larger proportion of the children could receive a higher education. Moreover, the mothers would have more time and strength to be of help outside of the home, and could have the opportunity to enjoy the pleasures of a higher culture. In every way, these reformers hold, Japan would become a greater and better nation if society would permit birth-control to be taught to the people.

Whether such a radical method of limiting the population will ever be adopted may be doubted; but the fact is that the birth-rate is now being slowly reduced because the marriage age of both men and women is being advanced by higher education among the upper half of

society and by the industrial occupations among the lower half of society. Educators often remark that the present tendency among the graduates of girls' schools is to sidestep matrimony with the hope of seeking further education. Higher education is still much more general among men than among women, and these extra years devoted by the men to education have always caused a great disparity between the ages of husbands and wives, making for greater unhappiness in the home. This condition will only be remedied when women will in reality have the same educational privileges that men have. Already campaigns have been launched for the admittance of women to the Imperial Universities and for the establishment of more institutions for the higher education of women. The latest move towards equal educational opportunities for men and women was made in Tokyo during the month of February, 1926, at a spirited meeting of a very determined group of about one thousand Japanese women. The plans formulated at this meeting involve a nation-wide agitation for the following definite demands: the raising of girls' high schools to exactly the status of boys' high

schools; the admission of women on equal terms to all the Government higher preparatory schools and special schools, or preferably the establishment of women's schools of absolutely the same grades and equipment; the admission of women on equal terms to all the Imperial Universities. Some time before this meeting was held, a report was circulated that the government was planning to establish a college for women. The amount of money to be used for this purpose was given as \$750,000.

One of the oldest attempts of reform among women is that of dress reform. About thirty-five years ago many of the women of the upper class wore European dresses and hats. Most of these clothes were ordered from Paris and were not made specially for the individuals that wore them. The strong anti-foreign feeling that was aroused from 1890 to 1899 because of the slowness with which the Western powers withdrew their extra-territoriality rights, soon drove most of such occidental clothing curiosities to the trash-heap. Some of these outfits are still to be found in go-downs and unused parts of Japanese houses. Very many men now wear European costume, and girls also, up to a

certain age, are beginning to wear Western dresses, but it is not very common to see Japanese women wearing foreign apparel.

Some foreigners like to go into ecstasies over the artistic beauty of the *kimono*, but many of the Japanese women themselves have but little praise for the native costume. Including the *obi*, a *kimono* is much more expensive than a foreign dress, and yet with all this outlay of money it is impossible for the wearers of the *kimono* either to walk or to work at twentieth century speed. But the main reason for the little progress that dress reform has made, is the fact that most men do not want the women to make the change. One disadvantage of the foreign dress is the great inconvenience of squatting on the floor experienced by a woman wearing a tight and closed skirt. The architecture and the heating system of a Japanese house would also need to be altered if a change were made in woman's attire.

With all these obstacles and opposition to dress reform, one nevertheless sees in the larger cities some women who are dressed in foreign style. Unfortunately many of these attempts must still be considered failures. Instead of

the natural gracefulness, there is often a gawkiness and a misfit all over. This too is a form of tragedy which is directly caused by the aspirations of a part of Japanese womanhood and the backward pull of the larger part of society.

The punishment which young women receive for being tempted to listen to the crafty wiles of Cupid, is always severe and immediate. In a certain city, a college for young men and one for young women are separated by a street and a high board-fence around the campus of the college for young women. As the result of some building operations at the latter institution quite a large heap of earth was piled up near the high fence along the street running between the two institutions. The girl students soon found out that by getting on top of the mound of earth they could look over the fence and see the college boys engaging in their athletic sports. These uninvited though quite sympathetic spectators from across the street irritated the young athletes to such an extent that a committee of protest was sent by the boys to the president of the girls' college. In the consultation which ensued, this committee told the president that it was ill-bred and indecorous

for the girls to look at the boys playing, and that the players were so annoyed by such rude behavior that they could not do their best in the sports. The mound of earth was duly removed, and the college boys were happy to be protected again from the unwelcome gaze of the girls. While this instance may be somewhat unusual it does show how tremendously persistent age-long customs may be and how swiftly and how surely the rough hand of correction will fall upon any who dare to break these customs.

But in spite of all that can be done by those who oppose innovations of every sort, changes in customs and traditions are steadily taking place along all lines. Many of the conservatives naively insist on placing all responsibility for these unwelcome tendencies among their fellow countrymen, upon the pernicious influences coming from outside of Japan. This obviously is carrying matters to extremes, but the fact remains that many of the evils which Japan has to fight to-day have been imported from foreign countries. If to these alien forces of destruction be added those for which Japan herself is totally answerable, it will not be diffi-

cult to account for the many tragedies in the lives of the women at this time of transition. These adversities, however, may justly be considered as the price of progress which the women are obliged to pay in order that the coming generations may have a less rugged road to travel.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW JAPANESE WOMAN

THE Japanese woman who is being evolved by the New Japan will be fitted for the larger duties which the changed ideals are bringing with them. She is very different from her sisters of bygone days, but is also quite unlike the so-called new woman of the West. She will never lose, it is to be hoped, all of her docile nature, her kindness of heart, her sweet and patient disposition, and her quiet but courageous spirit of self-sacrifice. Doubtlessly she will wish to retain the gentleness of her feminine soul, and will continue to be the mother *par excellence*. But because of the opportunities which now are hers of gaining independence of mind and body, she will henceforth resent being considered a mere social parasite.

Slowly the Japanese woman is becoming an individual with a personality distinctively her

own, and because of this new worth she will be respected and loved by men. The opportunity will be hers for obtaining as thorough an education as her brother, and she will therefore no longer be the subdued partner to her husband and merely the head servant in his home. She will have rights and freedom such as her grandmother could never have imagined in her dreams. There will be a single standard of morality for both men and women, as the discriminations of the law will gradually be removed from the legal codes. Instead of being ground up in the mills of industry, she will have proper protection in the home and outside of it. She will take the leading part in such cultural subjects as music, and will be a power in literature and the other arts. The franchise will be hers, and by means of this she will help the men in guiding the ship of state towards the haven of highest success. Finally, she will be the very heart and soul of the social world. But to attain fully to this exalted position, she will doubtlessly have to make many more sacrifices in the cause of renovating and elevating society.

Because the Japanese woman in the recent

past has been at least partially successful in various hard struggles against an unfavorable environment, some of the elements in this long list of hopes are already in her possession. She is by nature brilliant of intellect, wise, and conservative and will therefore not be tempted to advance so fast that a reaction will inevitably result. She knows her own weaknesses, and takes great pains to remove these. Physically she is not very vigorous and often lacks the *genki*, or "pep," needed to make her life more joyous. That the younger members of her sex are fully aware of their needs in this direction, may be seen by the remarkable enthusiasm with which they enter all forms of modern athletics. Statistics show that during the past forty years, the average height of the women has been decidedly increased.

Similar preparations for woman's larger field of usefulness are also made along other lines. The Women's Federation has established lecture courses on the Japanese Constitution, civil and criminal law, economics, sociology, and the history of the development of woman's rights. These lectures have been delivered by professors from Meiji University and by other au-

thorities. The Federation has also launched a movement looking towards the establishment of a woman's university of first rank. Thus far only one woman has ever received a regular degree from an Imperial university.

The leaders of the feminist movement fully appreciate the fact that an extremely heavy responsibility rests upon the women of to-day. Full credit is also due them because with a very few exceptions they have not been carried away by either a wild radicalism or a cheap sentimentalism. They know very well that their highest object can only be attained if they count the best and most intelligent men not as their enemies but as friends who will soon extend helping hands. Consequently, the wisest among the new Japanese women consistently advocate practical, common sense education along all lines as the only sufficient means to effect a thorough preparation for the new epoch upon which they are entering.

In order to form as concrete an idea as possible of what the women of the new age will be like, it may be helpful, even at the risk of some repetition, to take a quick but discerning glance at the work of a few of the women who are al-

ready living the life of the new world. The list of leaders given here is by no means exhaustive, as it could be multiplied many times.

Madame Kaji Yajima was one of the best loved women in Japan. A lady of sterling character, she was for thirty years president of the National W.C.T.U. She worked incessantly for education, purity, peace and temperance, and was profoundly interested in all endeavors to elevate women and men. At the age of eighty-nine she attended the Washington Disarmament Conference and presented to President Harding a peace resolution signed by 10,000 women of Japan.

Miss Michi Kawai, a graduate of Bryn Mawr College, is general secretary of the National Y. W. C. A. She is an indefatigable worker among women students and the many thousands of factory girls. A recognized social reformer and a born leader, she is known from one end of the Empire to the other as a woman of deep religious conviction.

Mrs. Motoko Hani is a modern educator of women, the editor of the well-known monthly magazine, "*The Woman's Companion*," and is herself a writer of exceptional ability.

She desires the women of Japan to be able to stand on their own feet, to have backbone, and to develop personality of the highest order. She holds that only as young women have real worth of character and practical ability as mothers or workers, will they be able to attain to the freedom that is due them.

Madame Asako Hirooka, a member of the wealthy Mitsui family, has shown modern Japan that a woman can establish a bank and conduct it successfully. She made money honestly, controlled it wisely, and used it for the good of society. She was an active member of the Christian Church, and, though busied with commercial pursuits, she often found time to go around the country on preaching tours. Wherever she went, she made a definite attempt to elevate the conditions of her fellow-women.

Madame Akiko Yosano, the wife of a university professor and mother of a large family of children, is the most prominent living woman writer of Japan. She belongs to the realistic school, and writes both prose and poetry. She wants woman freed from her ancient shackles

and prepared to occupy a respected place in politics and society.

Miss Ritsuko Mori, a highly cultured lady, educated in Japan and in the Occident, is the best actress on the Japanese stage. She desires to portray on the stage the life of the real Japanese woman not merely the stilted activities of the puppet-like female of the old style theater, whose parts were acted by men.

Mrs. Shinko Kodama is a progressive leader in the Federation of Women. Her aims are: woman's suffrage, protection for motherhood, and repealing of all laws discriminating against women. She believes that the ballot in the hands of the women of Japan will correct all conditions in which women are now being wronged.

Baroness Ishimoto is a cultured, patriotic lady who is a sincere believer in birth-control as the effective means by which Japan can secure permanent peace, a higher form of civilization, and greater happiness for both men and women.

Madame Tamaki Miura, Japan's only truly great performer on the operatic stage, has achieved a world-wide fame by her singing.

She has not only opened a new door to greatness for the talented Japanese woman, but she has proved to the world in a new way that the deepest feelings of the human soul make a universal appeal, irrespective of race or culture.

Mrs. Yayoi Yoshioka, the founder of the Tokyo Woman's Medical School, has bestowed an unspeakable blessing upon her fellow-women by establishing a woman's medical institution. The government has appropriately recognized the value of her efforts by granting the school the right to confer degrees on its graduates.

It will be noticed that the first four women of this list have done their reform work as active Christians. When the history of the woman's movement in Japan will be written, the honest historian will give a large place to the Christian women for the faithful and incessant upward pull which they have contributed. They have all been conservatively progressive, not one of them destructively radical. The remaining six women of the list are probably not members of a church, but they also, in countless and telling ways, are putting their shoulders to the load and are vigorously pushing forward to-

wards a freer, happier and more efficient womanhood.

We have seen that some Japanese men and a minority of Japanese women have clearly beheld the vision of a new Japanese womanhood. This minority of women includes a few members of the nobility, a rather large number of the middle class educated women, and perhaps a still larger number of representatives from the industrial and commercial groups. These people did not by their agitation create the new age in Japan—*the industrial revolution and the whole new world of ideas have produced this changed order of things*. What the leaders of the woman's movement are endeavoring to do is to adjust themselves and society to the demands of the new condition, in order that they may survive, and if possible, help to give impetus and guidance to the social evolution that is going on. They have already succeeded in their object to a considerable degree. This adjustment will surely be completed sooner or later, for Japan is fully aware that a bird cannot fly with one strong wing and the feathers of the other wing clipped.

Japan will not merely imitate what other

countries have done in the matter but will settle this question in her own way, as that is the only self-respecting position for her to assume. She has solved many other difficult problems with marked success, and she will also be able to make the required adjustment in her woman problem. It is now quite impossible for Japan to sidestep this subject of fundamental importance, for she has entered the maelstrom of industrialism and the world of science to such an extent that she cannot and will not turn back again to the former conditions. She can be trusted to deal with her women in ways which fully conform to the requirements of the highest enlightenment.

The social development of Japan and her women affords another proof that the human race is fundamentally *one* in its deepest longings and highest aspirations; that the outward differences which do exist have had their origin in the diverse surroundings among which a particular society has been evolved, and that when a social group is placed under conditions similar to those of any other people, like characteristics will inevitably appear.

In the foregoing chapters the writer has made an honest effort to set forth frankly but sympathetically the numerous perplexing elements constituting Japan's woman problem as well as the promising outlook for a happy solution of these important matters in the not distant future. He sincerely hopes that as a result of this little endeavor some of his American countrymen may understand these difficulties more clearly and may increasingly show a genuine fellow-feeling towards their progressive neighbor across the Pacific.

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